

Freedom
of choice
in education

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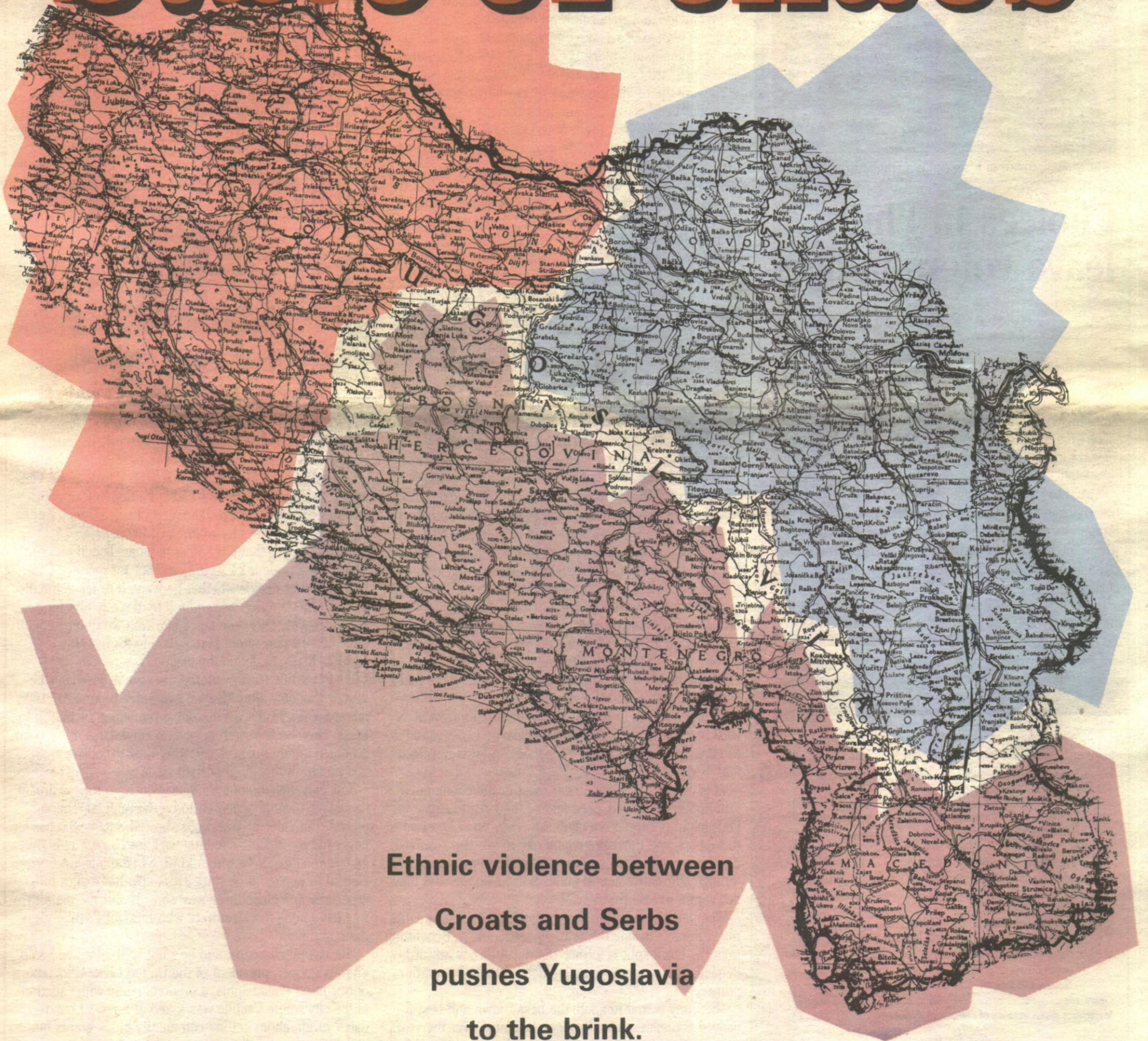
IN THESE TIMES

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State of chaos



**Ethnic violence between
Croats and Serbs
pushes Yugoslavia
to the brink.**

Paul Hockenos reports

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The unlikely return of Philadelphia's Frank Rizzo.

Choices in Philly leave voters hungry

By S.A. Paolantonio

PHILADELPHIA

The candidates for mayor of Philadelphia should have seen it coming. As the eight men campaigning to succeed Mayor W. Wilson Goode approach the May 21 primary, they can see in the rearview mirror an electorate that is angry, unmotivated and fearful that no matter what happens in City Hall next year, it will not be enough to solve Philadelphia's intractable problems.

Rewind to December 1989. Alan Secrest, a Washington-based pollster, was hired by Peter Hearn, the strait-laced former chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association who wanted to run for mayor. Hearn wanted to test the city's electorate to see how ready people were for drastic change.

The results were mind-numbing. Nearly two-thirds of the voters felt the city was on the wrong track—twice the dismay measured by Secrest in Atlanta, Baltimore

and Cleveland prior to other watershed elections. Fifteen months later, a Temple University poll found identical levels of despair. Nearly 70 percent of the city's adult population wished they lived someplace else. And this poll was taken after eight candidates for mayor had spent nearly six months trying to convince voters they could turn City Hall around.

Shades of gray: Now it's May, and the five Democrats and three Republicans seeking the two mayoral nominations for the fall campaign are hearing a familiar refrain: voters are angry and uninspired, and their comments paint the mayoral wannabes in a shade of cynical gray.

"We're ready for changing everything in this city—from the mayor on down, and I just don't see it in these guys. Their hearts are not in it," said Chester Rudzinski, 78, a retired bartender from the city's Port Richmond section, a white, blue-collar neighborhood along the Delaware River.

"Black folks were excited about Wilson Goode in 1983 because he was the first black mayoral candidate who had a chance to win, but now all that he's built for us could be wasted," said Avery Richmond, 44, a paralegal from predominantly black West Philadelphia. "So, naturally, people are confused, and they're very disappointed."

The attitude of Philadelphia's electorate about the campaign has been made more sour by the city's daily dance with fiscal insolvency. Right now, Goode is waiting for the Pennsylvania state Senate in Harrisburg to approve a five-member Intergovernmental Cooperation Authority, an agency that will have the power to sell city bonds but also withhold the proceeds of those bonds and state aid if the city does not forge a realistic budget. The Democrat-controlled state House created the agency, but the Republican-controlled Senate apparently does not want to give the Goode administration any happy headlines that might help the Democrats look good in the final weeks of the primary campaign.

It is precisely this kind of political maneuvering at the expense of the greater good—an almost daily occurrence in Philadelphia—that has voters turned off.

In the five-man Democratic primary, the sense of disappointment has been particularly acute in the black community. Put simply, many black voters feel betrayed. Goode brought millions in city jobs and contracts to blacks, many of whom fought—to no avail—the white mayors who preceded him.

Splitting headache: Ensuring smooth black succession would have been relatively easy. Whites make up only 39 percent of Philadelphia's registered Democrats. If past racial voting patterns hold up, the only way to beat the black Democratic majority would be to split the vote.

That's exactly what happened. Two former city councilmen, George R. Burrell Jr. and Lucien E. Blackwell, have brought their council rivalry into the mayoral campaign. And Goode's former managing director, James S. White, is in the race, too—despite running a distant fifth. Polls show the black vote is bitterly divided, just like the black leadership and the black church.

By now, leaders in the black community thought at least one of the black Democrats—maybe two—would withdraw. But that has not happened. And it is not likely that it will.

"It is one of the things I hear most in the community," said Robert W. Sorrell, president of the Urban League in Philadelphia. "People are confused. They don't know who to support, and they sure would like to see this resolved. The African-American community made some gains through affirmative action under Wilson Goode, and they don't want to lose that."

Whether they will lose their gains is one thing. But, barring a miracle, losing the primary seems likely. Benefitting from the black split is former District Attorney Edward G. Rendell, the leading white candidate in the Democratic primary.

The irony is that Rendell, the best-known and best-financed contender, has also done the most over the years to anger the black community. In 1987, for instance, black clergy leaders denounced Rendell because he challenged Goode in the Democratic mayoral primary after promising in 1986 he would not if the clergy group supported his bid for governor. The incident lingered—Goode refused to consider endorsing Rendell this spring.

Instead, the mayor endorsed Burrell, following the lead

of Philadelphia's Democratic U.S. Rep. William H. Gray III, the House majority whip who has helped finance Burrell at every turn. It was Gray who convinced Goode—and prominent members of the Black Clergy of Philadelphia and Vicinity—that only Burrell could capture enough white votes to assemble the multiracial coalition that elected Goode twice, in 1983 and 1987.

Polls show that voters, especially whites, give Blackwell low approval ratings because of his affiliation with the Longshoremen's Association and his sometimes radical leanings—and behavior—in City Council. He once got into a fistfight with a white council member in council chambers.

But Gray's heavy support for Burrell has only helped to fuel the determination of Blackwell's supporters, who view Gray as power-hungry. Gray, they say, is interested in taking control of City Hall to reward those in the party aligned with him. Theories abound as to why, but the most prominent theory is that Gray wants to use power in City Hall so he can control Pennsylvania's delegation in national elections.

The result has been a stalemate. Black voters are confused. And Rendell, though he hasn't won an election in nine years, is poised to get lucky.

On the Republican side, the disappointment has been just as bitter. Philadelphia is the only big city in the country with a bona fide Republican machine. It has been run by a diminutive lawyer named William A. Meehan for 30 years. He took over from his father in 1961 and continued his perfect record—never winning a mayor's race.

Bad dream: The Republicans last controlled City Hall in 1951. That year Democratic reformers tapped voter anger

INSIDE STORY

and took control of every level of government. Republican leaders feel they have the same opportunity in 1991. But their dream candidate turned out to be a dud.

Their dream candidate was Ronald D. Castille, the Vietnam veteran who twice was elected a Republican district attorney in a town where Democrats have a 3-to-1 voter edge. Name another city where that happens.

Castille led all the polls. Most popular. Tough on crime. Could bring pride back to the city. But for months, Castille could not decide whether he wanted to leave the district attorney's office, as required by the city charter, to run for mayor. This reluctance allowed two other Republicans, finance consultant Sam Katz and former Mayor Frank L. Rizzo, to define the election.

When Castille finally entered the race at Meehan's behest, it was only after Meehan guaranteed him a \$130,000 job at his law firm. Castille took a pounding for that in the press. Then he appeared at several candidates' forums unschooled in city finances, allowing Katz to look smooth and on top of this all-important issue.

Suddenly, instead of a Vietnam War hero turned dream candidate, Castille appeared to be the reluctant, hand-picked contender he was. Polls showed Katz—who has never run for office—climbing back into a race nobody gave him a chance to win. And Rizzo, who has not been elected to public office since 1975, now has a shot too, especially in a close three-way contest. But the big loss was felt among the electorate who thought Castille was the real thing.

"He has no charisma, and he's not well-informed," said Charles Cooper, president of the United Civic Associations of Northeast Philadelphia, a predominantly white section of the city where Castille was asked at a recent candidates' forum about getting community block grants funneled to northeast Philadelphia. Castille "didn't have a clue. He didn't even know what a block grant was."

People in Philadelphia were expecting a savior, a candidate who could unite a city, drag it from the fiscal quagmire, inspire pride and rekindle commitment. Instead, like the campaign itself, they are right where they started. □

S.A. Paolantonio covers politics for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

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This is the first in a three-part series on education reform.

By David Moberg

IS "CHOICE" THE ANSWER FOR AMERICA'S BELEAGUERED schools? Should education consumers decide where their children should attend elementary or high school in a competitive marketplace that will drive out the bad schools and reward the good?

Free-market choice is part of our would-be education president's recent prescription for school ills and the latest fad in education reform. For frustrated parents, it has an immediate appeal. For a culture that celebrates personal freedom and the consumer as king, it seems intuitively appropriate.

But on closer inspection, "choice" turns out not to be such an easy answer. Education is a special enterprise. What works—albeit not always well—in manufacturing autos may not work when it comes to educating children. Virtually nobody is proposing a complete free market in education wherein all individuals would pay for schools of their choice out of their own, unsubsidized incomes, for example. Education remains a private consumer choice as well as a public good. Both parents and the state or community have stakes—at times conflicting—in the education of their children.

Distinct tensions: These dual private and public interests create distinct tensions. Most research has shown that academic success is most heavily influenced by a family's social and economic status and that schools largely confirm and reinforce social class. Americans, however, want to believe that education provides equality of opportunity—a surrogate for real equality. Americans also have expected schools to create a common, democratic culture, even if the reality has been quite different.

For its part, business expects schools to produce the workers it needs. Indeed, the country's declining economic prowess has provoked much of the recent debate on the performance of public schools. How well can a market model accommodate the varied, legitimate demands on the schools? Academic research in the late '60s and early '70s questioned whether schools themselves—or any of the common measures of a school's success, such as money spent—really affected achievement at all. But later studies of individual schools, as well as experiments in strengthening schools in poor, troubled communities, increasingly demonstrated that they could make a difference and effectively educate even the most disadvantaged children.

To make this difference, the schools need clear goals, rigorous academic standards, order, homework, strong leadership from principals, involvement of teachers and parents in decision-making and high expectations. Additional research suggests that small size and a supportive environment, including flexible responses to students' differences, make schools more effective. But the big question is, how can such changes be wrought for the mainstream and not just for the exceptions?

Demands for "excellence" in recent years have often focused on the imposition of tough external standards and exams such as the voluntary national tests for fourth-, eighth- and twelfth-graders proposed by Bush. But critics argue that typical standard-



Choice no easy remedy for American school ills

ized tests measure achievement poorly and distort teaching into preparation for the test. The exams are also easily transformed into devices for labeling and tracking students. Poor testers typically get left behind rather than helped along.

School, American style? Bush's "New American Schools" proposal to support innovative education is politically savvy—it calls for at least one school in each congressional district—but it is only a modest expansion of the kind of "effective schools" research already underway. The administration's decision to rely heavily on corporate funding will inevitably give a business slant to any innovation (a mixed blessing, at best, especially if there is no commitment from those businesses to provide jobs for graduates).

But education innovation, as well as the proposal to expand choice, conflicts with demands imposed by narrow, standardized exams. Broader, fairer and more reliable tests of performance are much more expensive, lack the appeal of a spurious scientism, and thus are less likely to be adopted.

Most controversially, Bush proposes new financial incentives, as well as a revision of the main school-aid program (the so-called Chapter 1 funding for disadvantaged students), to encourage "comprehensive choice policies."

Parents could choose from "all schools that serve the public and are accountable to public authority, regardless of who runs them," including religious schools. Choice proposals, including school vouchers, have come mainly from free-market conservatives but also from some liberals. In Europe, many countries offer parents a choice of state or private schools, including religious schools, that have public financial support but also must submit to public regulatory authority.

Country with a view: In the Netherlands, where choice may be the most diverse, defenders of the system argue that different religious and educational philosophies, as well as the secular humanism of the "neutral" public schools, do profoundly affect education. Parents in a free society, they add, should be able to choose how their children

are educated.

John Chubb and Terry Moe, researchers at the liberal, Washington, D.C.-based Brookings Institution, have made one of the strongest recent cases for free-market schooling. They trace the main problem back to the distinctive American system of school boards, superintendents and school districts that emerged in the mid-19th century and was consolidated during the Progressive Era. "The schools' most fundamental problems are rooted in the institution of democratic control," Chubb and Moe write in *Politics, Markets & America's Schools*.

Democratic control leads to imposition of "higher-order values" on the schools. This, in turn, leads inevitably to a bureaucratic regime, reinforced by civil service and teachers' unions, that stifles the school autonomy essential for effective teaching. Under outside political pressure and the thumb of bureaucrats, individual schools lose both autonomy and coherence of their mission. In a free market, argue Chubb and

Education is a special enterprise. What works—albeit not always well—in manufacturing autos may not work when it comes to educating children.

Moe, schools must please the clients (parents and children) and have both the freedom and the incentive (the threat of failure) to adapt to market demands. Thus, they add, a market promotes school autonomy, professionalism, teamwork and other educationally effective qualities that best serve the community.

Statistically comparing effective and ineffective schools, Chubb and Moe argue that although effective schools spend about 20 percent more per pupil—mainly to hire more teachers—money is not a major independent cause of success. The most impor-

tant differences are that the ineffective schools are much less autonomous and that the effective schools typically have students who are "well-behaved" and come from families with higher social and economic status. But, add Chubb and Moe, reformers can most affect school organization and can do little about the nature of society or incoming students.

The biggest factor promoting school autonomy, they conclude, is operating within the private market. Therefore, "choice is a panacea ... a self-contained reform ... [that] has the capacity all by itself to bring about the kind of transformation that, for years, reformers have been seeking to engineer."

But Chubb and Moe acknowledge that many public schools, especially ones with homogeneous populations and few serious problem students, are as autonomous and effective as any private school. Indeed, as some observers argue, there already exists a free market in schools, largely mediated by the real-estate business. Public schools in wealthy suburbs are hard to distinguish from elite private schools. And even some public schools in less-fortunate communities also are effective—just as some middle-class suburbs have mediocre schools.

Battling bureaucracy: Indeed, the kind of stifling bureaucracy denounced by Chubb and Moe is most typically associated with big-city school districts that must often contend with problem students. Consider, for example, two average schools identical in every way except that one has a student body with severe behavior problems: the school with fewer behavior problems would rank in the 81st percentile of school effectiveness, while the other would rank in the 29th—an astounding difference.

In part, the bureaucracy stems from often-misguided efforts to control those behavior problems that have no real counterpart in comparative data on private schools. But Chubb and Moe unconvincingly downplay this important factor.

Centralized bureaucracy is clearly the major organizational failure of the public-school system (although Chubb and Moe think democratic control is even worse than bureaucracy), but the bureaucracy of the Roman Catholic Church and its imposition of higher-order values do not appear to undermine parochial schools' effectiveness. Also, autonomous, non-bureaucratic public schools can emerge without any private market (or, at most, with the influence of housing choices).

Most importantly, school effectiveness appears to result from the cumulative consequences of many external factors and of the total school environment. As Chubb and Moe admit, many of these factors are reciprocal or self-reinforcing: for example, good students attract good teachers who have high expectations and can work well in autonomous environments. In ineffective schools, problems often feed upon themselves, leading to solutions—like tighter bureaucratic controls—that simply worsen matters. More than most institutions, schools seem prone to such vicious, or virtuous, spirals.

Chubb and Moe's celebration of market virtue and the evils of democracy is ultimately well justified and widely supported. Even if the free-market model is found wanting, choice can—and should—be part of the alternative.

By Joel Bleifuss

Attacks, heart and otherwise

On May 3, President Bush finally addressed allegations that he helped the 1980 Reagan-Bush presidential campaign strike a secret deal with Iran to have the 52 American hostages held in Teheran until after the election. Emphasizing the point with well-rehearsed gesticulations, he labeled the charges "sickening."

He meant it. The next day Bush was laid up in Bethesda suffering the trials and fibrillations of a disintegrating presidency. The ever-chipper vice president was one irregular heartbeat away from assuming office. And the the public was left wondering whether their president had approached the 1980 election with the same wisdom that in 1988 led him to choose Dan Quayle as a running mate.

So where was George?

"Was I ever in Paris in 1980? Definitely, definitely no. That's all. Please print it. And let's try to stop this rumormongering that's going on. Stop repeating rumors over and over again," he said in his May 3 executive order.

But, Mr. President, the press *has* tried to stop the rumors, with no one trying harder than the *Washington Post*. The *Post* finally assigned a staff reporter to cover the issue, though it has yet to give the allegations a serious examination. Thomas Lippman, in his front-page May 4 article, "Tale of Hostage Intrigue Refuses to Die," didn't even try.

Lippman's piece in Washington's newspaper of record set a dismal standard. His story, like others that appeared across the nation that Saturday, highlighted Bush's denials without explaining exactly what the president was denying.

Lippman did say that "the tale keeps surfacing ... reinforced by a chain of circumstantial evidence." But rather than describe that evidence, he wrote simply that in "some versions" of the story, "George Bush, then Reagan's running mate, participated in a secret meeting in Paris that sealed the reported deal." He then prints the denial by an "angry President Bush."

But having raised the question of Bush's whereabouts, Lippman left it at that. He did say that during the May 1990 perjury trial of CIA operative Richard Brenneke, the Justice Department failed to prove that Brenneke lied about attending one of three October 1980 meetings in Paris where the alleged deal was finalized. Several accounts place Bush, soon-to-be CIA chief William Casey and then-Carter White House national-security aide Donald Gregg at these meetings.

While Lippman admitted that the Justice Department's case against Brenneke was unable to establish a believable alibi for Casey and Gregg, he did not address where Bush was on the weekend of Oct. 18 and 19, 1980, when the Paris meetings are said to have taken place.

This much is known: at 9 p.m. that Saturday, Bush concluded a speech at Widener University in Delaware County, Pa. He was next seen in public at 7 p.m. Sunday in Washington giving a speech to the Zionist Organization of America.

Pick a Bush, any Bush: Why did candidate Bush disappear from public view for some 20 hours just two weeks prior to what was a very close presidential election? And where did he go?

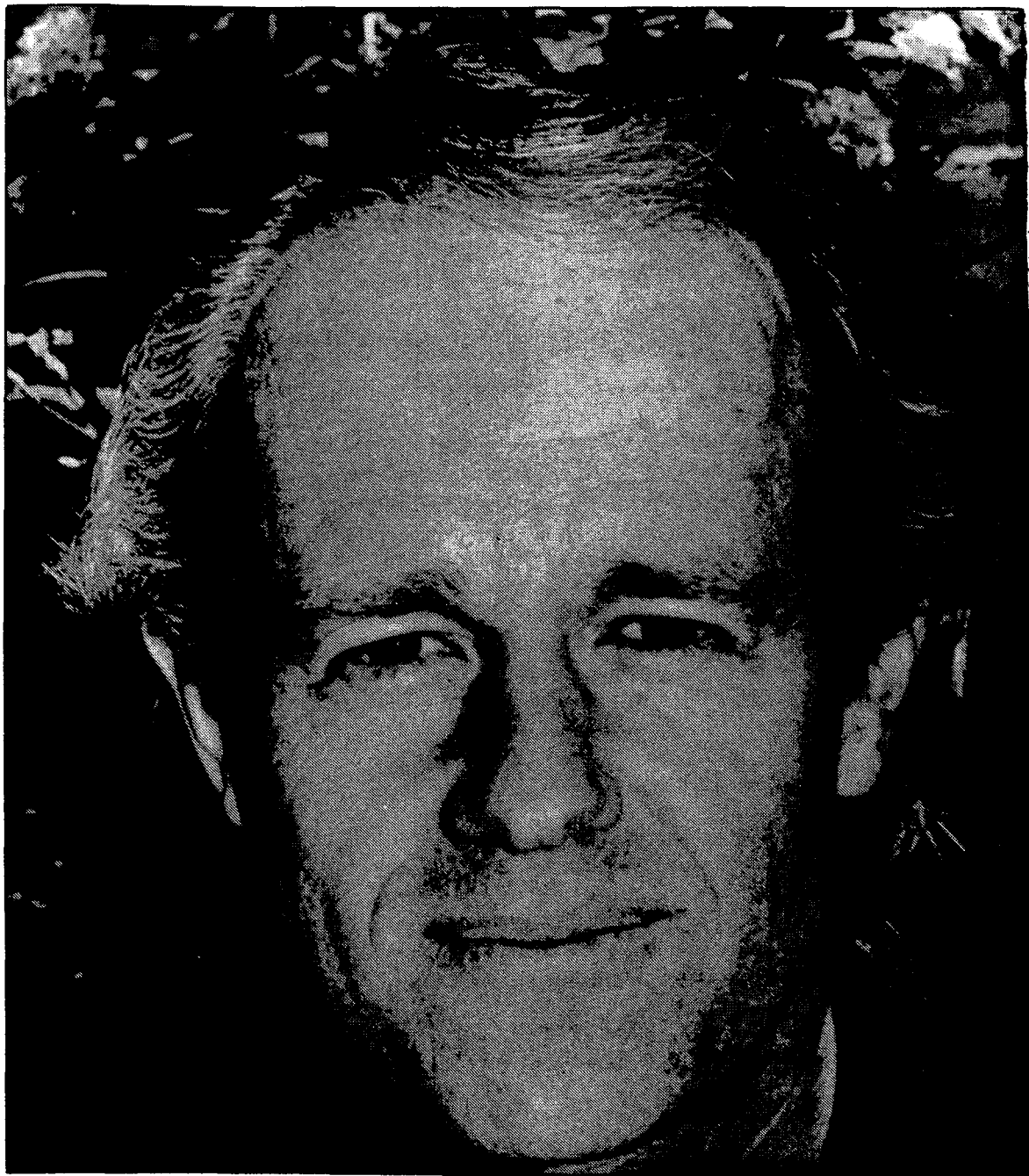
The Bush administration appears to be working overtime to provide an alibi. But these over-eager efforts have not been coordinated.

The alibis follow, in order of appearance:

- In the fall of 1988, Republican presidential campaign workers explained that Bush spent those unaccounted hours at the Chevy Chase Country Club in suburban Maryland, on private business. This story was supported by a heavily redacted Secret Service report that said Bush was at the club with unknown parties. In May 1990, at the Brenneke trial, the Justice Department offered two Secret Service agents as witnesses to explain Bush's whereabouts. In unconvincing, lackluster testimony, the two had trouble making their case.

- On April 22, Vice President Quayle was asked on Detroit's ABC-TV affiliate WXYZ where Bush was on that weekend in October. Quayle said he didn't know but promised to get back to the station with an answer. The next day the vice president's office faxed its version of Bush's itinerary to the station. According to Alan Upchurch, executive producer of WXYZ news, the fax indicated that on the Sunday in question Bush spent all day at home without a Secret Service escort. On May 9, I called the vice president's office and asked for a copy of that itinerary. I was told to contact the president's press office.

- Last week, on May 8, the *Wall Street Journal's* Gordon Crovitz provided Bush with another itinerary for his lost weekend: "Sunday, Washington, D.C., Lunch with Supreme Court Justice

**Mike Farrell: square-inch subversive**

By Wim Roefs

"I took my job as a citizen seriously and protested against the war," Mike Farrell tells his audience at Lenoir-Rhine College in Hickory, N.C. He means Vietnam, but this time, in March, he is also referring to the Gulf war.

Despite the college basketball game next door, Farrell draws a crowd of several hundred. The actor, director, producer and former *M*A*S*H* star covers a lot of ground. He takes his audience back to 1980, to the refugee camps at the Thai-Cambodian border that housed victims of the Khmer Rouge. He tells them, "When I talked about it in the U.S., there was a tendency to allow those tales of horror to wash over. They are communist; you can expect that," people said, and I was disturbed by that." When he came back from El Salvador with similar stories, the commie excuse wasn't valid; the suffering there was caused by a U.S.-backed regime. There is a double standard in this country, Farrell tells his audience. "If we do it, it's OK. If they do it, it's not." He recalls the days of "simplistic and frightening" U.S. anti-communism and talks about the tall tales the government and the press told the American people about Nicaragua. "They were simply not true," he says, a discovery he made when visiting that country.

Farrell then reassures the North Carolinians, "I firmly believe in the principles of our founding mothers and fathers." He establishes common ground without letting the audience off the hook. "This is the greatest country in the world—not because of its military strength but because of the principles it is based on." The principles imply

"fairness" and "respect for individual human life," he explains. Since nobody can disagree with that, the polite 52-year-old in a sports jacket and tie goes in for the kill: "But what we do is often antithetical to that dignity of human life."

He elaborates: when Jefferson spoke of "informed consent," he meant it. He also meant that the government shouldn't lie to the people. "Does anybody believe that the government never lies to us?" he asks. No hands, a few laughs. "We have a job to do, making sure that the government works for the people, and I relish the task."

Relishing the task has brought him a list of extracurricular activities that reads like an inventory of global trouble spots and organizations. He says his political work consumes "a good deal of my days." Among other positions Farrell holds, he is the spokesperson for CONCERN, an international organization that sends medical and other personnel to refugee emergencies throughout the world.

But he does not limit his politics to foreigners. Farrell has worked for a score of domestic constituencies, be it American Indians and the farmworkers, environmentalists and battered women. He also is active on behalf of prisoners, particularly death-row inmates. With the Virginia Coalition on Jails and Prisons, he worked on the case of Joe Giarratano, managing to get the prisoner's death sentence reversed. "Seeing life inside an American prison is something I would like many of you to experience," he tells the Hickory crowd. "It is an extraordinary society, another world of people with dignity. But they are devalued."

"I am a believer in health," Farrell says, "but not

just literal physical health." He means emotional and psychological health and making people realize that they have potential to fulfill. "So, obviously, I oppose capital punishment," he says during an interview in his office in Sherman Oaks, near Hollywood, the town he was raised in after his family moved from Minnesota 50 years ago.

During the '60s, Farrell was a member of the Kennedy Assassination Truth Committee, which toured the country with slide shows and testimony from the Warren Commission to show people that the authorities lied about JFK's assassination. "I have never believed that we have been told the truth," Farrell says. That was the beginning of his political activism. It was also in the beginning of his acting career—a career that began via his dad's job as a Hollywood studio carpenter with a one-line part in *The Graduate*. From there it was two years on *Days of Our Lives*, one year on *The Interns* and then to real fame with *M*A*S*H*. That celebrity gave him the chance to enlighten people in North Carolina and everywhere else.

Love your mother: Farrell is also concerned with the Earth's health. He starred in a 1989 Turner Network Television movie about a polluted river, *Incident at Dark River*. The film was co-written by Farrell and produced by Farrell/Minoff Productions, the company he formed in 1985 with Marvin Minoff. It won an award from the 1990 First U.S. Environmental Film Festival in Colorado Springs.

The former Marine is anti-war, but he's no pacifist. After all, if the U.S. were attacked, he says, he would defend his country. He also doesn't have a problem with liberation movements ousting a dictator. "The U.S. is the outgrowth of a liberation movement, and I think people should remember that." He is a great believer in education, though he never attended college. "There was no money in my family for that." He is personally against abortion but is pro-choice. He is a registered Democrat who finds the lack of principles in the party "frighteningly disgusting."

Although Farrell is "an unhappy political consumer," he has campaigned for many candidates. "But it is real tough, because I have less and less patience with them," he says, adding that Democratic Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin is "one of the best in the U.S. Senate—primarily because he has never forgotten his roots. He is in touch with the common people." Farrell campaigned for Harkin in his 1984 and 1990 races.

"Very powerful people," he says, have asked him to run for national office, although he is not interested. Even if he were, he wouldn't want to be part of a system in which elected offices are bought, and therefore average citizens disenfranchised. "You have to draw the line somewhere," he says, adding that he feels bad enough about contributing to the system by donating campaign money to certain candidates.

Farrell says he prefers to deal with people on the grass-root level. There, he is a square-inch subversive who ambushes others by saying "peace" when shaking hands and writing the same word on letters—with an exclamation point—when others use "sincerely." He picked up the habit during the Vietnam War. "A lot of people found it offensive, and I always thought that that was kind of peculiar. People have a way of assimilating things and disarming them, and a lot of people probably think it is a little cute, a little antiquated." That doesn't disturb him. He stuck to it during the '80s, even when Reagan renamed missiles "peace keepers."

Refuge of patriots: Some folks consider other parts of his speech subversive. On Cable News Network he argued against the Gulf war, and a group in Idaho subsequently canceled his speaking engagement, telling him, "This is a very patriotic community." That news made the Idaho press, was picked up by the wire services and the wires

reached all the way to North Carolina. At Lenoir-Rhine College, they suddenly realized they weren't just going to get *M*A*S*H*'s B.J. Hunnicutt. So the worried organizer called Farrell. "She finally said, 'OK, but I want you to know that we are a very conservative, religiously oriented school.' She was just very worried that she would get into hot water for having brought in some bomb-throwing radical," he says.

But the mild-mannered Farrell got a warm response from the "religious conservatives" that night in March. After speaking for more than an hour and answering many questions, he is besieged for another two hours at a reception. His sincerity is contagious. Sure, people want to know if he still sees his former *M*A*S*H* colleagues, but most questions relate to the political stuff Farrell talked about.

Increasing fatigue doesn't decrease Farrell's patience. "Oh, good," he says, when one of the four girls he poses with for a group picture mentions that they are all members of Amnesty International. He gracefully smiles, poses and scribbles autographs while people thank him and tell him his speech was inspiring. And the debate goes on: he tells one of the students that he has no problems with conservatives, as long as they are not just driven by reactionary ideology.

That little insight seems to encourage a big-haired girl. She steps forward, introduces herself, gets an autograph, smiles like a broadcasting major and says: "I am a conservative and didn't agree with everything you said. But I enjoyed it anyway because at least you didn't offend anybody." In other words: Farrell might be a damned lefty, but at least he's a polite one.

Later, when he is reminded of that moment in Hickory, he laughs and says he wonders if he shouldn't be tougher on his audiences. "Maybe I should offend more people. The primary issue to me is: how do I reach the most people? I don't know the answer. I have always worked toward the hope that if I can reach one person out of every crowd, I am way ahead of the game. And to do that, I have to work my way in very carefully and very subtly."

Human spirit: A speakers bureau asked him seven years ago if he were interested in speaking to people and making some money. He said yes, on the condition that he wouldn't be expected to talk only about *M*A*S*H*. But he is a good sport when the audiences ask him questions about the show. And the questions don't necessarily divert him from his message. He tells his Hickory audience that *M*A*S*H* was "all about the triumph of the human spirit, that you must not give in to ideology and authority." Farrell's production company won the "Triumph of the Human Spirit Award" from a child-support group for *Dominick & Eugene*, its 1988 feature film about two young adult brothers.

"Triumph of the Human Spirit" implies hope and, despite everything, Farrell has plenty of that. Informing, communicating with and enlightening the public will ultimately pay off, he says. "I tend to be very optimistic, you understand." Everywhere he goes, he says, he finds "there is a way to communicate. That has been my thesis all along. And if we can find that, we can find a way to arrive at mutually acceptable solutions for problems."

As a critic, coach and cheerleader, Farrell gives pep talks to Team U.S.A., urging reflection and action. "Ask yourself who you are," he urges his listeners. "Look at the things you take for granted. We can make heaven on Earth." He says it is "a cop-out" to say that one person can't make a difference. "I don't want to make you feel uncomfortable," Farrell adds, though the audience might not take his word for it.

Wim Roefs is a Dutch freelance writer living in Columbia, S.C.

Potter Stewart and Mrs. Stewart." This alibi originates with the Secret Service, which several months ago provided that information to the Government Accounting Office. Apparently, brunching with a Supreme Court Justice looks more presidential than an overnight visit to a Washington country club with parties unknown. Further, Bush's brunch cannot be confirmed—the judge is dead and his wife suffers from chronic memory loss.

● Also on May 8, Jerry Seper of the *Washington Times* reported that Bush was at home with a Secret Service escort. He wrote, "The Secret Service says he awoke about 6:30 a.m. [Sunday], had lunch at his Washington home and spent the day there preparing the speech [to the Zionist Organization of America in Washington]."

● On May 9, I called the White House media-relations office and asked for a copy of Bush's itinerary for October 18 and 19, 1980. A woman named Jeanie said she would fax it to me. When the itinerary did not arrive, I called back and she told me, "We're still working on that."

Sick spins: Concurrent with this attempt to cover the president is a campaign to smear Gary Sick.

It was Sick, a veteran of both the Ford and Carter White Houses, whose April 15 op-ed piece in the *New York Times* gave "official" legitimacy to the story of the alleged 1980 deal.

One of the main ways Sick's credibility has been attacked is by associating his account with that of former Reagan White House defector Barbara Honegger.

In early 1987, *In These Times* received a long article on the alleged 1980 deal written by Honegger, who served as White House policy analyst until 1982. In her story, Honegger, employing an untenable combination of fact and intuitive interpretation, laid out details of the 1980 deal—and much more. While we found Honegger's central thesis credible, we could not substantiate all of her allegations. So we assigned staff writer Jim Naureckas to work with her. *In These Times* published the portion of her story that could be confirmed on June 24, 1987. The entire version of Honegger's story can be found in her 1989 book *October Surprise*.

In the *Washington Post*, Lippman quoted a *Los Angeles Times* review of Honegger's book, saying that parts of it were "on par with the accounts of political events favored by paranoid cultists." Lippman admitted that Sick's account is "harder to dismiss," but he stirred the pot with, "Brenneke, who got some of his information from [Barbara] Honegger, who got some of hers from Bani-Sadr, who also talked to Sick, was acquitted."

The *Washington Times*' John Elvin did a similar job on Sick in his "Inside the Beltway" column. On May 7, he wrote: "Defenders of Mr. Sick point to a previous 'October Surprise' book by former White House staffer Barbara Honegger as further evidence of a conspiracy. But Miss Honegger's credentials are dubious, as *Human Events* newspaper notes this week, dating to her proclamation that she heard voices telling her to go to Washington to play a major role in the women's movement. She later quit the administration in a flaming feminist fury, but not before becoming legendary for appearing at White House functions in a bunny suit."

The next day, Elvin followed up with a dash of redbaiting. "And who is Gary Sick anyway?" he wrote. "A booster of the National Security Archive ... [which] has personnel and philosophical links to the Marxist-oriented Institute for Policy Studies." Elvin told me he "spun" this story with the aid of someone at an unnamed conservative think tank.

It was perhaps these words from Elvin that inspired Bush to say at his May 8 press conference, "I am really turned off by all this, and I'm really disappointed in this Mr. Sick, whoever he is."

Within an hour of Bush's attack, I spoke to Sick. "I'm not surprised at all," he said. "When I wrote the story, I fully anticipated there would be attacks on me. It is not a pleasant thing, but in the end I'm not the story."

"The interesting thing about the press conference," he continued, "is that Bush personally denied his personal involvement and he attacked me for impugning motives to him that were totally unworthy. What was missing was any statement at all about the broader issues of whether such a deal was done. I think that is really surprising. If there is no deal, why not say so?"

Sick said he soon expects more revelations about the alleged 1980 deal. "There are a number of good reporters who are beginning to look at this story seriously," he said.

When that happens, Sick said, it will be the substance of the story that makes the news, not attacks on his credibility.

Tom Blanton, deputy director of the National Security Archive, said such attacks call to mind a famous quote by the late Democratic Sen. Sam Ervin, who said, "As a young lawyer I quickly learned that when the law is against you, argue the facts. And when the facts are against you, argue the law. And when the law and the facts are against you, attack your opponent."

The price of prejudice

Some things don't get better with age. A new report issued by the Washington, D.C.-based Older Women's League (OWL) has found that women continue to be segregated in the workplace. The report found that younger women—despite being raised in a climate of change—continue to hold nearly as many traditional female jobs as older women. It also found that the gap between the wages paid to women and men is likely to grow with age. *Paying for Prejudice: A Report on Midlife and Older Women In America's Labor Force* concludes that the ultimate consequence of such pervasive workplace segregation and discrimination will be disproportionate poverty for midlife and older women. OWL is also urging members of Congress and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to eliminate wage and age discrimination. Contact OWL at (202) 371-1999.

Disability's new abilities

After decades of ignorance, disability is about to enter the realm of mainstream public policy. With the help of a three-year federal grant, Dr. Sara Watson of the Washington Business Group on Health will design curriculum materials and cases on disability issues for use in universities and public agencies. While disability has traditionally been viewed as a health issue, says Watson, these cases are meant to explore civil rights and to teach public-policy and law students and public managers how to work with their disabled constituents. The project, funded by the U.S. Department of Education's National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research, will run until September 1993. Materials are available to faculty members at no cost. For more information, call Sara Watson at (202) 408-9320.

Fueling the public

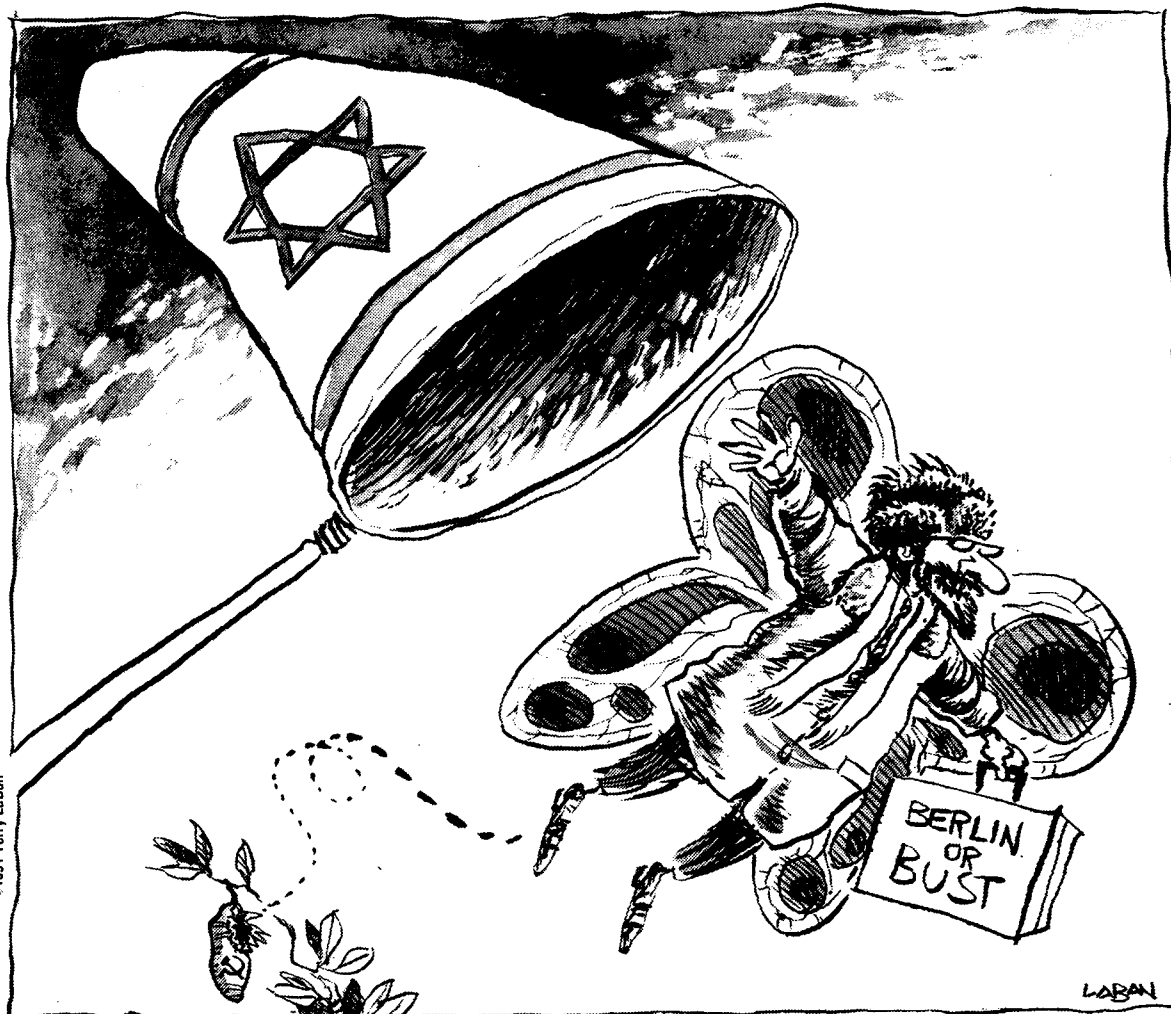
Fuel inefficiency getting you down? Don't look to the auto industry for help. While telling Congress there is no market for more fuel-efficient cars, automakers continue to pitch gas guzzlers like Cadillacs and Buicks—which fall well below the industry national average of 28 mpg—as providing “impressive yet efficient power.” Several environmental and consumer groups, including the National Wildlife Federation and the U.S. Public Interest Research Group, have accused the automakers of deceptive advertising, according to the *Corporate Crime Reporter*. The groups are also asking Congress to support legislation that would mandate, by the year 2001, a 40-percent increase in the Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE), a gas-mileage standard for the sales-weighted average of a company's entire annual new-car fleet. Congress first passed the CAFE standard in 1975, almost doubling the gas mileage attained by new cars.

Hear no apathy, speak no apathy

After 24 days behind padlocks, chains and barricades, student protesters at the City College of New York (CCNY) have gone home. New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's proposed \$500 tuition hike, the elimination of several financial aid programs and a \$92 million slash in the City University of New York (CUNY) budget prompted the students to shut down administrative buildings last month—an action that spread to 18 of CUNY's 21 campuses, as well as to Cornell University and two State University of New York campuses. Students at City College ended their takeover after administrators granted them total disciplinary amnesty, a move not in accord with a CUNY-wide agreement that no campus would bargain on its own. While the protest garnered no clear student victory, the takeovers drew massive attention to a national student population that is viewed as generally conservative and apathetic.

Here's the beef

Thanks to a new streamlined beef-inspection system at slaughterhouses across the country, diseased meat is entering the market at an alarming pace, according to the *Multinational Monitor*. The U.S. Department of Agriculture plan, designed to increase speed, relies on beef-company employees to perform the majority of inspections and restricts government inspectors to spot checks on the processing line. In an open letter sent to Congress in March, some 21 whistle-blowing federal inspectors cite the acceptance of meat infected with measles and tapeworms and an eightfold increase in head contamination, whose meat goes into products like ground beef. Also noted are “carcasses which fall on the floors ... which have blood, cattle feces, urine, ingesta, hair, pus from abscesses, grease, dirt, spit and tobacco [on them].” □



Soviet Jews in Berlin fight deportation to Israel

BERLIN—German police here may soon round up 269 Jews, take them away in police cars and deport them in the face of protests and old nightmares reawakened.

The 269 Soviet Jews fled Israel during the Gulf war and came to Germany singly or in small groups. Most were unacquainted with each other. Only a few months in Israel, their temporary identity papers did not suffice for a German visa, but they were allowed to remain because a German law forbids deportation into a war or crisis zone—in this case, Israel during the Gulf war. Their attempts to find asylum in Berlin have become an international controversy that is already embarrassing both the Israeli and German governments and focusing more attention on Israel's immigration policies.

Israel wants the Soviet Jews returned. This puts Germany in an awkward position. Germany will insult Israel if it accepts the refugees. But if Germany deports them, it will ignite moral outrage in a city where the Gestapo basement ruins are still a gaping wound. The opening of an Israeli consulate in Berlin could be affected.

Waiting for a decision by Minister of the Interior Wolfgang Schäuble, Berlin bureaucracy has aggravated the situation: a 12-year-old Chernobyl victim was refused medical coverage for his radiation sickness for a short time, and the Social

Agency twice attempted to transfer the Jews to a violence-prone, right-radical neighborhood in East Berlin. One Soviet Jew joined his wife and four-year-old son, who had fled after their housing was destroyed by scud rocket debris. He arrived in March and is considered “an Israeli tourist.” Police removed him from the refugee housing.

“We're European Jews, not Israelis,” explains Ester M., one of the Soviet Jews who serves as translator and speaker for the group. “We never wanted to stay in Israel, but it was our only chance to get out of Russia. We're not Zionists, and we don't want to be forced into villages in the Occupied Territories. Especially the families with children are afraid to stay there. War, scud rockets, terror, a bomb in a car or a store, attacks on the street—we don't want to live that way.”

“They should be accepted under the normal regulation for Soviet Jews that has already brought about 6,000 Soviet Jews to Germany in the last year,” says Peter Meyer, an attorney for the group. “The only obstacle is the claim that they're Israeli citizens, ‘tourists who have overstayed their visas.’” Indeed, one of the surprising aspects of the controversy is that Germany is becoming an acceptable, even positive goal for Jewish immigrants.

“We lived in fear in Russia, too,” continues Ester. “Discrimination, the Ladoga and Palmetz [anti-Semitic organizations], pogrom rumors—the chance to leave might not come again soon. Germany's moderate policies convinced us. Now Israeli newspapers write we are bad people and betrayers of the country.”

Why is Israel persevering? Attorney Meyer says, “The people report certain dissatisfactions among Israeli immigrants. Perhaps Israel is afraid this group could ignite a flight wave or set a precedent case.” Israel expects more than 1.5 million Soviet Jews in the next few years and would obviously be embarrassed by a flight movement or a reluctance of Soviet Jews to immigrate. Basic Israeli policies on immigration and the Occupied Territories would be placed under even greater pressure.

One way to avoid diplomatic confrontations would be if Berlin were to make a local decision to accept the refugees. The foreign-residence law allows the participation of the states in determining refugee status. Such a “local” decision would not have the precedent-setting effect of a federal ruling. But the Berlin parliament would have to stand up for it. “And the Berlin government is holding itself back because of Zionist lobbying,” charges Wolfgang Wieland, deputy chairman of the Alliance '90/Greens in the Berlin parliament.

Claus Rosenkranz, another lawyer for the refugees, says, “Israel's claim on all Jews who take even a single step upon its soil is Old Testament law. That's not justice on the principles of human rights. Human rights means to ask the persons concerned and to accept their answer of self-determination. Israel must convince these people; it cannot force them.” He shakes his head. “We can't pay millions of deutschmarks to Israel and then deny humanitarian help to a few individuals. Germany should be happy that Jews want to live here again at all.”

—Tom Cuson

By Kevin Kelly

This is the third story in a three-part series on the changing airline industry.

THE NATION'S AIRLINE INDUSTRY HAS FLOWN through some stiff turbulence since it was deregulated by Congress in 1978. Skyrocketing gasoline prices, the rise of new carriers such as Peoples Express and the collapse of old standbys such as Braniff have kept the industry in perma-

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nent flux. But what has occurred during the past six months is a financial crash of unprecedented proportion.

U.S. airlines have lost \$4 billion since last October. Eastern Air Lines Inc. has collapsed, and four other airlines are in bankruptcy. Industry analysts predict Trans World Airlines and Pan Am—the industry's elder statesmen—will soon vanish. Even with the Gulf war over, fuel prices near normal and increased passenger traffic, the industry may lose \$3 billion this year.

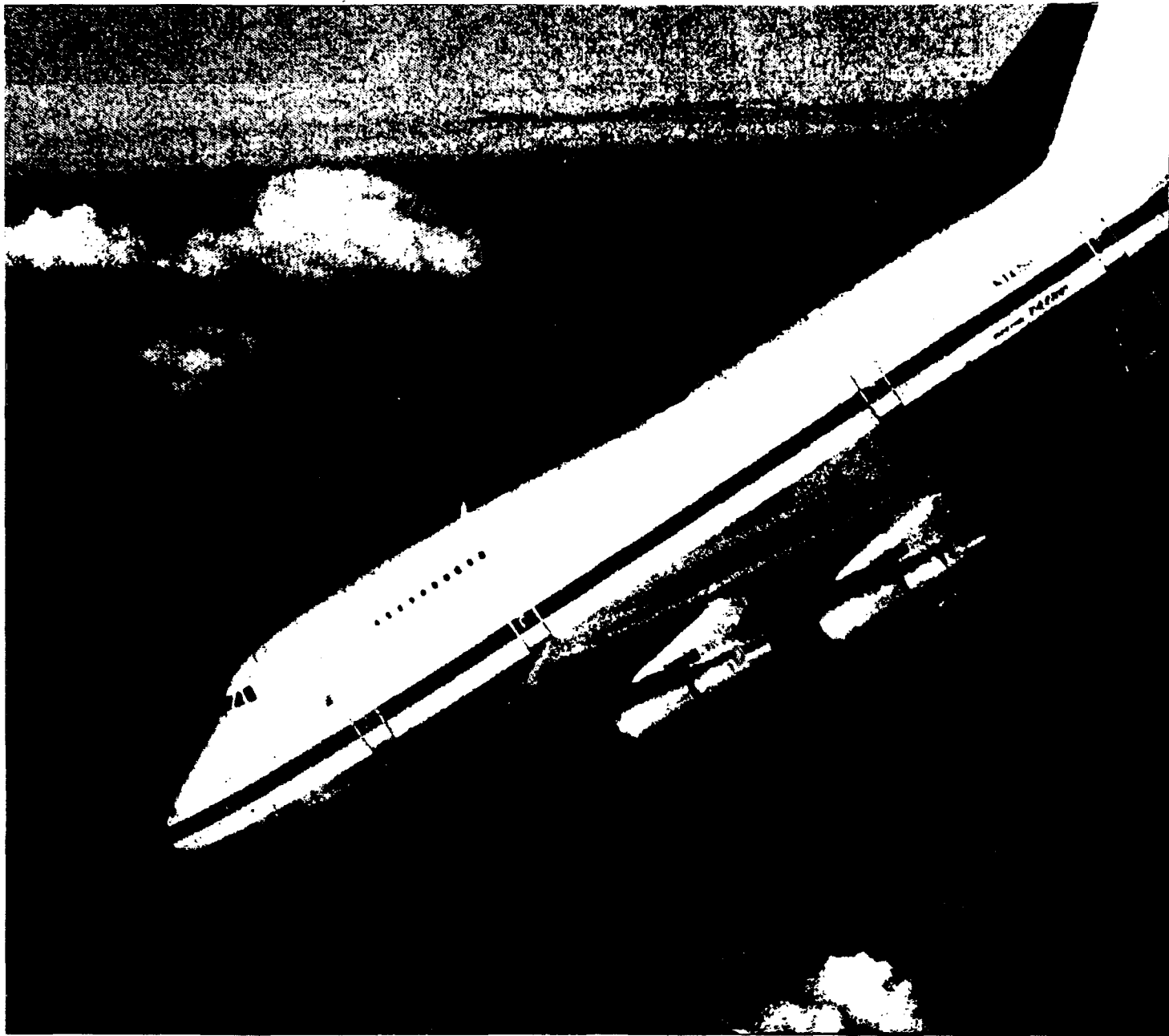
War and recession accelerated a shakeout many have long expected. High fuel prices and few passengers left debt-ridden airlines such as TWA, Continental and Midway unable to cover interest costs, let alone pay snack and fuel vendors. But while these carriers sank into insolvency, healthy airlines such as United and American used their capital to snatch European routes at a discount from desperate, troubled carriers. Critics soon warned the industry was heading straight toward monopoly.

Oiling the oligopoly: Throughout the last six months, voices demanding that the federal government take action to prevent industry consolidation have risen. But neither the Bush administration nor Congress has made a move to prop up struggling carriers. Nor, perhaps, should they. What is lacking, though, is a clear sense of how to preserve competition as the nation's airline industry settles into a comfortable oligopoly dominated by Delta, American and United. "Washington knows it has to do something," says one industry analyst. "It just doesn't know what."

Certainly, plenty of industry executives have put forward ideas. Northwest Chairman Al Checchi championed the ailing carriers' cause last fall when he lobbied Congress to return the airline-ticket tax to air carriers so they could pay rising fuel bills. But lawmakers balked. Most concluded—probably rightly—that Northwest and other carriers such as Midway had caused many of their own problems by loading up on debt and expanding beyond their means.

Even powerful members of Congress have thrown their weight around to help struggling local carriers. Sen. John C. Danforth (R-MO) spent much of this spring trying to block American's \$480 million purchase of TWA's routes to London's Heathrow Airport. Why? Danforth figures TWA—which employs 17,000 people in St. Louis alone—probably wouldn't survive without its crown-jewel London routes. Instead, he wanted the U.S. Department of Transportation to support a bid by corporate raider Kirk Kerkorian to buy TWA from fellow corporate raider Carl Icahn.

Danforth marshaled impressive forces. Business and civic leaders from Missouri



Lawmakers hold their breath as airline industry tailspins

swarmed onto Capitol Hill, and TWA's unions lobbied the Bush administration. But again, lawmakers realized they'd probably be propping up an airline destined for the scrap heap and enriching only Kerkorian, rather than Icahn, by allowing the former Hollywood movie mogul to sell off TWA's remaining assets.

Lacking any plan to help specific carriers, Congress has stumbled on what else to do. "You hear lots of people talking about re-regulating the industry," says industry consultant Peter Hamilton. Led by Danforth and Sen. John McCain (R-AZ)—whose home state houses troubled America West Airlines—consolidation opponents have searched for some course of action. It has become fashionable in Washington to speculate about what measures could be taken to prevent Delta, United and American from dominating the industry.

Flying global skies: But almost nothing can be done. United and American are already well on their way to building worldwide route systems. With plenty of cash left in their coffers, they merely need to add a few routes (American in the Far East and United in Latin America) to effectively cover the planet. This isn't all bad. In order to compete in the coming global airline market, U.S. carriers will need to draw passengers from

around the world.

Still, consumers have reason to worry. Flyers need only check recent fare increases to know what the future holds: higher prices. Even during the most recent fare war in April, prices for the cheapest tickets were still 10 percent higher than the year before. "Undoubtedly, airlines will charge more for travel once the market is cleared of the deadwood," says one industry analyst.

The future isn't any brighter for airline employees. Since the shakeout began last fall, more than 38,000 airline employees, many squarely middle class, have lost their jobs. If TWA and Pan Am collapse, that

number could easily double. Lacking other airlines to find work with, many of these pilots, mechanics and flight attendants will have to seek lower-paying, service-sector jobs.

Unless, of course, something is done to promote continued competition. While Capitol Hill can't do much to save failing airlines, lawmakers can at least spur competition. Taking steps to relieve airport overcrowding, for example, could promote the growth of new carriers, as could encouraging foreign ownership of U.S. airlines. Modifying controls on the nation's busiest airports would allow smaller and more aggressive carriers access to popular destinations such as New York and Chicago.

Steps are being taken in these directions. Last year Secretary of Transportation Samuel Skinner eased the capital crunch faced by some airlines when he approved new rules allowing foreign airlines to own 49 percent of a carrier's non-voting equity. (He immediately approved a bid by KLM Royal Dutch Airlines to own 49 percent of Northwest's non-voting stock.)

But few foreign carriers want to own non-voting stock. "It limits their influence on managers," says industry consultant Mark Maimar. The industry's poorer members

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By Dorothee Benz

NEW YORK

A FEW MONTHS AGO, SOME FRIENDS OF MINE asked me to do some research for a documentary they were producing on needle exchange and AIDS prevention. I joined them on some of the interviews they conducted for the project. One Saturday we talked with residents on New York's Lower East Side, where ACT UP conducts a weekly AIDS-education service and an illegal needle-exchange program.

When we asked a woman who was pushing a baby carriage and carrying groceries what she thought about the needle-exchange program, she stopped and said, "Sure; I think it would help stop the spread of AIDS. My

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brother, who was 39-years old, just passed away two weeks ago. He didn't have a chance to get new needles, so he used his friends' needles and he eventually died of AIDS."

"Do you think he would have been willing to use the program?" we asked.

"Of course," she answered.

When we talked to the mayor's office about the city's position on needle exchanges, we were told that David Dinkins "feels that it sends a mixed message to youngsters about drug use. Rather than giving drug addicts needles, which is really a defeatist attitude, they should get into programs to get off drugs."

Noting that there is an average six-month waiting period for drug treatment in New York City, we asked how the city advised people to get into treatment. The mayor's office did not offer an answer. "The Department of Health would be able to answer that for you," the man in the press office offered

Needling City Hall for a new AIDS policy

apologetically. The Department of Health did not return our phone calls.

The problem with much of the city's AIDS policy is just that—it is seen as a matter of policy, balancing City Hall convictions, budget priorities and community politics. Policy is complex and nuanced. The mayor believes that needle exchanges "are not a panacea for the source of AIDS." But there is a 39-year-old for whom the fine-tuned distinction between a "panacea" and "a commendable [effort] whose means are questionable," as the mayor's office put it, is meaningless. He's dead.

Of course, he's not the only one. The numbers are familiar but worth repeating. More than 20,000 New Yorkers have died of AIDS, and the city has the highest number of AIDS cases of any city in the country—around 31,000 to date. Intravenous drug users constitute the fastest-growing number of AIDS patients and are now the primary vehicle of heterosexual transmission of AIDS. In 1990, 42 percent of all newly diagnosed cases among men were IV drug users. For women, it was 60 percent. Half of the city's 200,000 addicts are estimated to be infected with the virus. Two HIV-positive babies are born every day in New York City, and 78 percent of all children with AIDS were infected by mothers who were addicts or the partners of addicts.

Clearly, these statistics spell a public-health disaster. The health-care costs as-

sociated with AIDS among addicts are so staggering that one would think the city would be inspired to act.

The facts speak for themselves: Without substantial intervention, the rise in AIDS cases among addicts will continue unabated, because addicts, as a group, do not have the

AIDS experts and activists agree overwhelmingly that needle exchange, bleach distribution and street education programs are effective and urgently needed.

organizational or financial resources to develop education and prevention programs, nor do they have access to the most advanced treatments.

AIDS experts and activists agree overwhelmingly that needle exchange, bleach distribution and street education programs are effective and urgently needed. This view is supported by a substantial and growing body of research data. Recent studies in Tacoma, Wash., and New York City under-

scored the effectiveness of such programs. The Tacoma needle exchange showed a dramatic drop in Hepatitis B, which, like AIDS, is spread through infected needles, as well as a reduction in risky needle practices. In New York, two federal research grants for outreach and bleach distribution showed conclusively that education with addicts in the streets leads to reductions in drug use, needle sharing and unsafe sexual practices.

But New York City has taken a different path. Last year the Dinkins administration ended the city's only needle-exchange program.

The program, which was set up by the Koch administration, ran from December 1988 to February 1990. It was, by all accounts, including those of city officials who administered it, a poorly organized effort. For legal reasons, needle distributions were not allowed within certain proximity of schools, and the entire program ended up housed downtown at the Department of Health—which happens to be just around the corner from police department headquarters. Not surprisingly, the program was not widely used. Dinkins killed the city needle-exchange project soon after taking office.

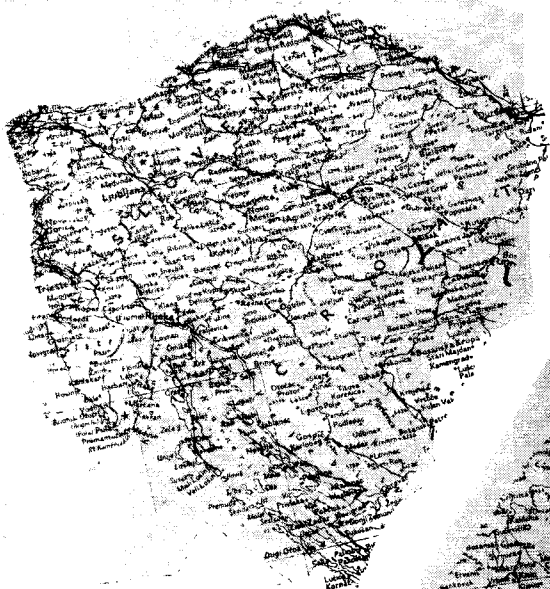
Meanwhile, AIDS groups, health organizations and drug-abuse-prevention workers have advocated needle exchanges for years. In 1989, the AIDS Brigade was the first group to simply conduct its own needle exchange in the absence of an adequate city program. The Association for Drug Abuse Prevention and Treatment (ADAPT) provides educational services and bleach distribution on the street, in shooting galleries, in shelters and soup kitchens and in halfway houses. They also provide educational training for everyone from schoolchildren to hospital workers. ADAPT receives a substantial portion of its funding from the Department of Health, and, although it does not distribute needles, it remains among the foremost proponents of needle exchanges in the city.

ACT UP began its needle-exchange program in April of last year. About 15 activists distribute information and materials each week in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx. At a regular time on a given day, they show up at street corners and park benches for an hour or two. Together, they distribute more than 2,000 needles every week. The kits they distribute also contain bleach, which can be used to clean needles if no new needle is available; condoms; instructions for using both the condoms and the bleach; and a list of phone numbers for drug-treatment and AIDS information.

ACT UP's program is illegal because it is against the law in New York state to dispense syringes without a prescription. New York is one of 11 states with such a law, three of which have the overwhelming majority of AIDS cases among addicts (New York, New Jersey and Connecticut). ACT UP has challenged the law, orchestrated a deliberate arrest of activists handing out needles and is fighting in court to have the law overturned or suspended.

"Everybody's" a user: In many ways the illegality of needle exchanges simply reflects a larger controversy. Despite mounting empirical evidence, some people continue to question the effectiveness of needle exchanges. Resistance continues as well because opponents believe that needle exchanges encourage drug use. Needle-exchange programs are a method of AIDS prevention, but opposition to them is based on people's perceptions of drug addicts and

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YUGOSLAVIA

Croats, Serbs speed up on nationalist collision course

By Paul Hockenos

KNIN, YUGOSLAVIA

THAT'S EASIER SAID THAN DONE," THE YOUNG lady behind the Plexiglas window in the Zagreb train station says when I request a ticket from the Croatian capital to the southern city of Knin. "It's a matter of luck to get through at all, and then you're really on your own."

Ethnic violence between Croats and the Serb minority in Croatia has paralyzed north-south transport in the republic. Railway tracks are mined. Blockades surround Serb villages. Recent shootouts between the Croat militia and volunteer Serb patrols have left more than 20 people dead. In the cauldron of boiling tensions across the country, it is the Serb-Croat conflict that has set the country on the brink of civil war.

Try going from the south, the woman advises. There chances are better. None of the prospects sounds appealing. In mid-March, the Serb minority declared the Krajina region, which extends from the spectacular Plitvice National Park in the north to Krajina's self-proclaimed capital of Knin in the south, politically independent from the Croatian republic.

Zagreb naturally refuses to recognize the autonomous status of one-fifth of the republic's territory. But the 300,000 Serbs in Krajina (half of Croatia's Serb minority) have stood their ground—politically as well as militarily. Still, for me, the mid-April meeting of the Serb and Croat democratic oppositions in Knin in two days' time warrants even the circuitous all-night bus trip around the disputed "autonomous region of Krajina," through the neighboring republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the Dalmatian coast.

Heart of darkness: In the Adriatic seaport city of Split, 50 miles south of Knin, the real journey begins. I catch a ride with Mihajlo, a former Croat partisan from the World War II liberation struggle and now a member of Prime Minister Ante Makovic's all-Yugoslavia reform party. We ascend immediately into the barren, rock-strewn Dinaric mountain range. Peasant women labor in the elaborately balanced vineyard plots; men shepherd small, ragged flocks of sheep. The sparkling coastline below us, bracing for a catastrophic tourist season this summer, gradually disappears as we climb higher.

Around the hairpin turn, a dismantled barricade of felled pines and rocks marks the Krajina border. Next to an overturned burned-out truck stand four Croat militia members, Kalishnikovs slung over their shoulders. In their steel-blue uniforms and bullet-proof vests, the young recruits check identification and wave us on.

Further ahead, we enter a Croat village, easily identified by the flags emblazoned with the Croatian coat of arms. Mihajlo explains that during the war the villagers here were loyal to the Ustashe, the brutal Nazi puppet regime that ruled Croatia from 1941 to 1945. For the Serbs here today, the Ustashe's massacre of 700,000 Serbs in "independent" Croatia is a tragedy deeply embedded in their collective consciousness.

The ruling right-nationalist Croatian Democratic Community has also done nothing to assuage those historic fears (see *In These Times*, May 8). The vehemence of its non-stop anti-Serb rhetoric echoes that of the Ustashe years. One example: the Croat defense minister was recently videotaped tel-

ing businessmen that in Croatia "mincemeat should be made out of political enemies and the Serbian minority." In parliament, Serb representatives were booed and jeered until they boycotted the process altogether. Serbs report that uniformed Croat police have ransacked Serb businesses, burned houses to the ground and randomly beaten members of the minority. On the outskirts of the Croat village, a giant "U," the Ustashe symbol, is spray-painted on an abandoned shack.

As we wind our way along the single-lane road, Croat and Serb settlements dot the rugged landscape. During Serbia's centuries-long tutelage under the Ottoman Empire, waves of migration scattered Serbs across now-Croatia, as well as all of Central Europe. Under Hapsburg rule, the Serbs in Croatia were privileged frontier guards and the Krajina region enjoyed a special autonomous status. World War II split many Serbs here between the partisan resistance and the fascist Serb-nationalist Chetniks. Yet, despite lingering resentment in the post-war

years, relations between Serbs and Croats were relatively tranquil.

When hostilities escalated to gun battles in March, the Serbs declared Krajina autonomous again. A public meeting of 1,000 Serbs in Knin elected Knin Mayor Milan Babic as president of Krajina. A new administration has taken all matters of justice, trade and defense into its own hands. The share of taxes that actually belongs to Croatia now remains in Krajina, administered to the region directly through Belgrade. The Serb moves are drastic, and the Croats charge that the founding of Krajina is the separatist Serbs' first step toward breaking with Croatia completely.

Not far behind the scenes lurk other interests, namely those of Serbia's hardline President Slobodan Milosevic, who has used the emotional issue of the Serbs in Croatia to rally his own shaken power base at home. The 35-year-old Babic is considered Milosevic's man in Croatia. Critics charge that his

Continued on following page

Nationalist rivals: Croat President Franje Tudjman and Serb President Slobodan Milosevic



On the streets, Knin citizens view the meeting with reserved optimism. Polls show that the overwhelming majority of Serbs in Croatia favor an all-Yugoslavia solution to

At the chic sidewalk cafe, the mirrored sunglasses of Marko, a civil engineer, flash my reflection back at me. He says that before last year he could have worked anywhere in Croatia. "Now they first ask, 'Who are you?' Serbs don't get jobs." Of course, the heavyset man explains, he and his wife are scared living in Croatia. His grandfather and uncle were Chetniks and perished at the Ustashe's hands. Yards away, two olive-green federal

Raskovic addresses the crowd first. The present Croatian parliament, he says, is an impermissible institution with no equivalent

Under a cloudless evening sky, Mihajlo and I leave Knin. The sound of isolated gunfire reverberates through the mountain passes. Our feeling that Milosevic and Tudjman understand each others' strategies all too well casts a gloomy silence over the trip back. They have carefully laid the grounds for conflict. Controlling its escalation, and the deaths that are certain to follow, will prove much more difficult. □

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Kathie Klarreich

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

SAILING FROM MORE THAN THREE DECADES of dictatorship into democracy, the newly elected Haitian government has hardly enjoyed a smooth ride. Its easiest victory was the 67 percent majority won at the polls last December. But dur-

HAITI

ing the first three months in office, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has had to face the reality of filling empty coffers, replacing a well-implanted system of corruption, rebuilding a shattered economy and securing support of the less-than-enthusiastic private sector.

Aristide, a dynamic 37-year-old priest who built his reputation on outspoken criticism of the old regime, is an easy target for those who profited from the old system. Critics wait with loaded barrels to denounce the new government, capitalizing on every mistake it makes. At the slightest opportunity, opponents accuse the government of incompetence, saying it lacks the necessary comprehension to offset the economic and social crisis facing Haiti today.

Government officials agree that things aren't perfect, but they are hardly ready to throw in the towel. Political parties, banned for 30 years, are still in their infancy. Years of calculated division by the Duvalier dictatorship have left people uneducated and suspicious of each other, reinforcing class divisions and creating fractures within the democratic opposition. But it was the united force of the people that allowed democratic elections to be held for the first time in Haiti's 187-year history.

"This government is the result of a strong collective spirit, not a structured political party," says Herold Jean-Francois, director of Haiti's national television station. "You can't wave a magic wand after 35 years of malfunction and expect things to work. We need time to observe, to implement guidelines, to identify the problems, to clear out the bad apples."

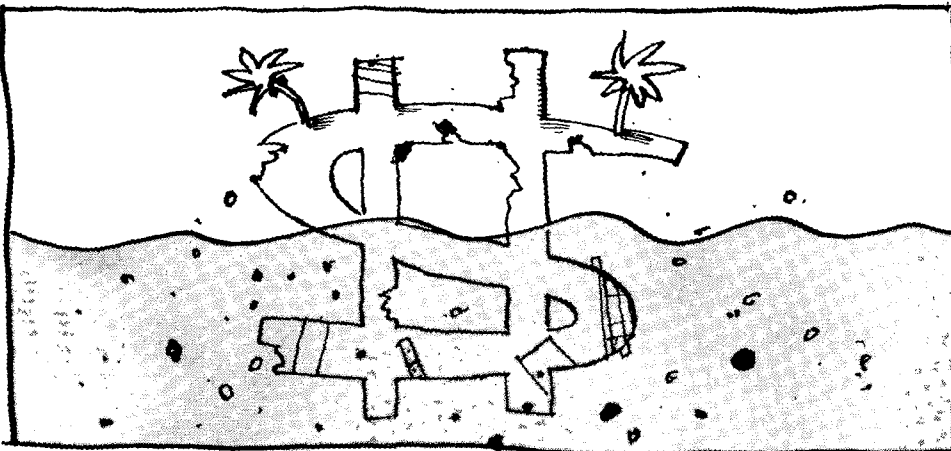
Deep cleaning? Even before the government took office February 7, it had begun to uproot the widespread system of corruption that rotted the public administrations, terrorized nighttime activity and made a mockery of the judicial system.

Beginning with the army, this young democracy has turned the military around from one of the most effective tools of repression to a so-called "professional" institution. For all visible purposes, the 7,000-man force seems streamlined to control—rather than engage in—crime. Military gangs have been broken up, but it's still too early to know if this new security will last. More than a dozen military officers have been retired, and dozens more have been transferred. Two high-ranking officers are currently awaiting trial for alleged involvement in the aborted January 1991 coup attempt.

The government has also begun tackling the problem of the rural sheriffs. For years, these one-man empires have exploited and manipulated people by playing the roles of law enforcer, judge and tax collector. Last month the government officially changed their jurisdiction from the military to that of the minister of justice. Despite these changes, the power structure remains much the same.

"Our plan is to put in place a system of security and reform the public administration," says Claudette Werleigh, a member

"Historically,



Skepticism, shattered economy greet new democracy in Haiti

money intended for the state came in and immediately went out into personal bank accounts. We want to make sure we have things under control so that now when money comes in we will know exactly where it is going."

This so-called "transparence" is part of the new government's three-slogan platform. Officials have demanded financial accountability in order to expose extortion from the public sector. Over 100 former government employees were prohibited from leaving the country until an audit of their accounts had been cleared.

The government was also elected on its cry for "justice." For years, known criminals have freely walked the streets. Swift action has already brought many alleged criminals to trial. One man has been condemned to life imprisonment for his participation in the attack against Aristide's church three years ago, when more than a dozen congregants were hacked to death. Another 15 people await trial for the January coup attempt, spearheaded by Roger Lafontant, the infamous ringleader of the Duvaliers' private thugs, the Tontons Macoutes. One alleged criminal, however, has been unable to find counsel—so fearful are the lawyers of popular revenge, which in January cost the lives of as many as 170 people.

"Participation," the third part of the new government's platform, has been only partially achieved. The masses remain loyal government supporters. While some people worried about the reaction of the conservative Catholic Church hierarchy to the new president, most people seem to fully embrace the government—as does the international community.

Going "legal": But many members of the private sector are suspicious of this new government, which some have labeled "radical" and "communist." These skeptics have adopted a wait-and-see attitude. They place little value on the government's efforts to create a safe climate for investment, fearing that economic reform will mean decreased profits.

For some businessmen, the reforms will force them to go "legal." They will lose economic privileges gained from bribery, illegal imports and drug trafficking. Others, who for years have been exploiting the cheap labor market, may no longer find Haiti an advantageous place in which to invest. Industry owners and merchants alike have bristled at the recent government move to increase the minimum daily wage, which was devalued over the last three years from \$3.60 to \$2.20 a day.

According to Charles Clermont, a well-respected economist and president of the As-

sociation of Haitian Bankers, the country is already suffering from a recession. Raising the minimum wage, he says, would only increase unemployment and the cost of goods. He thinks the fundamental crisis is structural and says movement from the countryside to the capital—at an estimated rate of about 30,000 people a year for the last 15 years—has contributed greatly to Haiti's 50 percent unemployment rate.

"We need to reverse this structural crisis," Clermont says. "The business sector is willing to play ball with the new government, but it needs to know the rules of the game."

"You can't wave a magic wand after 35 years of malfunction and expect things to work."

Not that the government needs to follow the policy of the private sector, but the government needs a policy framework that insures equilibrium.

"I understand the government's overwhelming tendency to give priority to the political situation, but it needs to take part in today's reality. That means free trade, dealing with the private sector, with modern capitalism. All of this is compatible with political choices, but that's what the government doesn't understand yet."

The government, however, is well aware of the immediacy of Haiti's financial crisis. Hoping for some instant relief, the government asked for loans from the private sector, offering a five-year term with an interest rate of 5 percent with a one-year grace period.

The request was a complete bomb. A mere \$8 million was given by the private sector.

"It was just a dumb business proposal," says one local businessman. "The banks are giving 14 percent interest. Not only would it be a lousy investment but we have no idea what they government will do with the money. It's just an example of their inefficiency."

Some government officials admit the request was a poor one, just as some admit the arrest of former President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot, who was jailed for 24 hours while being questioned about her alleged complicity in January's coup attempt, was damaging to Haiti's international image.

Trouillot's arrest brought an immediate outcry from the U.S., who doggedly supported the former president during her 11-month term. Trouillot was not charged, but she is forbidden to leave the country.

"What I don't understand," says Father Antoine Adrien, a close associate of Aristide's,

"is the swift and outspoken response from the U.S. While Trouillot may have been the residing president who led us to elections, she is also accused of stealing more from the government than the two previous regimes combined."

Good intentions: From the beginning of the electoral process, the U.S. has pledged support for the democratic government, though it is rumored that Aristide was not the U.S. government's first choice. Aid has been increased from \$54 million to \$82 million, though none of that money has yet been released.

Offers of international aid have poured in, but little has been collected. Without liquid cash, the Haitian government is limited in improving the economy.

Guy Bauduy, vice president of the 27-member senate, has criticized the government for its handling of financial matters. He believes many Cabinet members were chosen because of their allegiance to Aristide rather than for competence in public administration.

"The national budget, written under Trouillot, is poorly devised," he says. "Budget is a tool of management and should be the first thing to be sharpened and cleaned of the rust left by the old regime. The finance minister has not done that yet, and the longer it takes the more damaging the consequences."

Internal solidarity, however, remains strong, and the Haitian masses are determined to hold onto their newfound freedom. People are taking advantage of the new opening for expression by demonstrating for and against the government. Some have found themselves employed for the first time in years while others, who had been riding the coattails of the old regime, are suddenly jobless.

"We have made giant steps toward democracy," economist Clermont says. "It is weak but working. People who never talked together are finding themselves engaged in interesting discussions."

"Aristide has people charmed. But he needs to translate that into concrete policies. We're in a delicate moment. We have to hope, since there is dialogue and this government is acting with good intentions, that things will work out."

Kathie Klarreich is a journalist living in Haiti.

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WHY WE WENT TO WAR

The Commanders

By Bob Woodward
Simon and Schuster, 398 pp., \$24.95

By John B. Judis

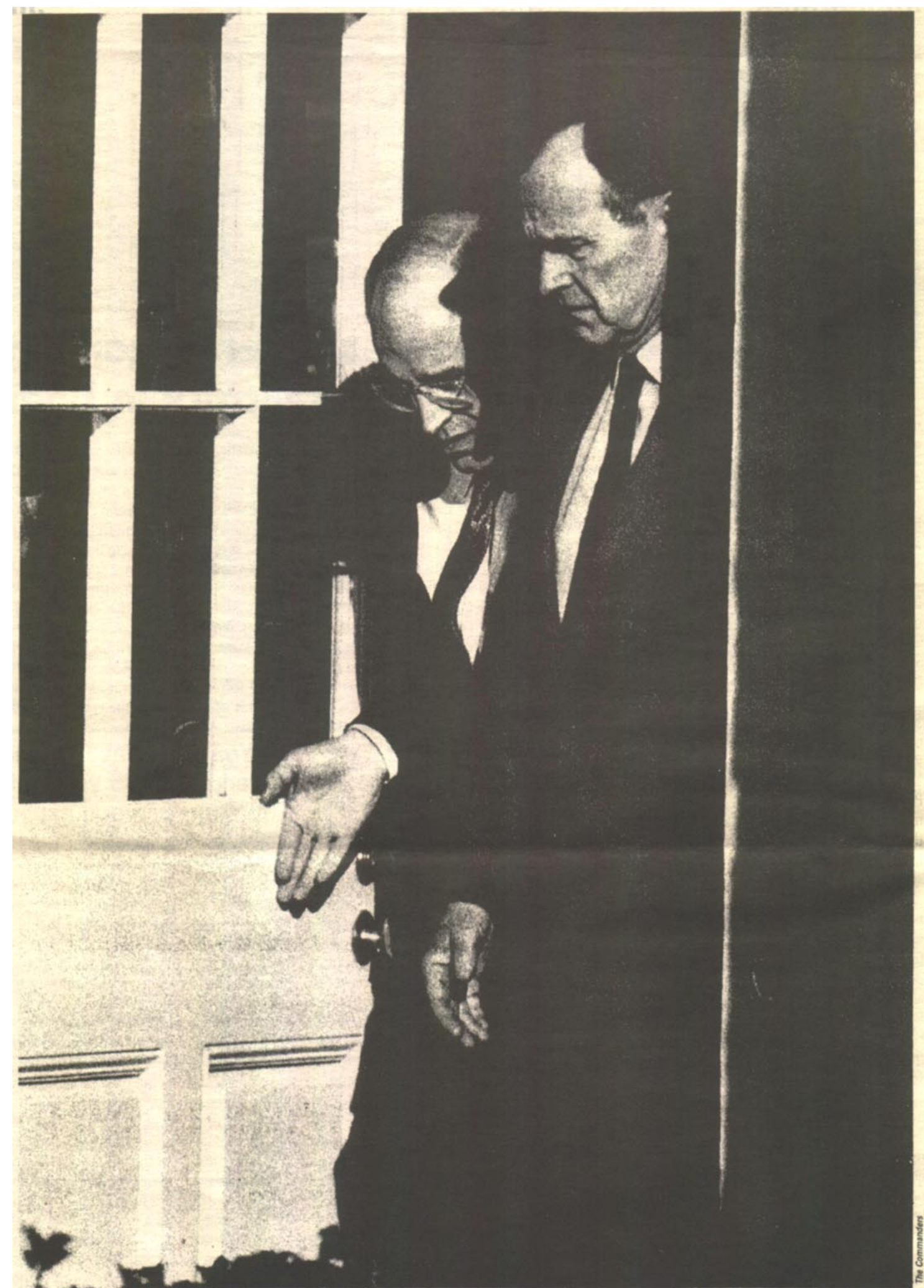
IN THE WAKE OF THE GULF WAR, QUESTIONS PERSIST about why the Bush administration decided to intervene and why it decided to resort to force rather than sanctions to oust Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward's new book, *The Commanders*, provides some answers and many insights such as:

- Bush decided to oppose Saddam Hussein's invasion because of the geopolitics of oil;
- Both Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary of State James Baker favored using sanctions rather than arms to force Saddam out of Kuwait; and
- Several people directly involved in the crisis felt that more expert diplomacy could have prevented Iraq from invading Kuwait or would have induced Hussein to withdraw once he had invaded.

Pentagon history: Woodward did not set out to write about the Gulf war. In 1989, after *Veil*, his study of former CIA Director William Casey, appeared, he began a new book about how the military was adjusting to a more peaceful post-Cold War world. Instead, Woodward found himself in the thick of two wars—the first in Panama and the second in the Gulf. After the war in the Gulf began, he rushed *The Commanders* to publication. The result is a book that is long on detail but short on explanation and overall perspective. It reads like a 400-page newspaper article.

Woodward's best sources were within the Defense Department and Pentagon. Thus, the book provides an excellent profile of Powell and, to a lesser extent, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. Woodward also had some access to National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, a key participant in the deliberations, and to Saudi Prince Bandar, the nephew of King Fahd and perhaps the most important Arab representative in Washington.

Woodward did not interview Bush and seems to have had only limited access to Baker and the State Department. This diminishes at various points the book's power



to explain why the president acted the way he did. But even with secondhand reports, Woodward still goes further than anyone else so far in explaining the president's reasons in intervening and going to war.

When the invasion of Kuwait occurred on August 2, Bush's initial reaction was very tentative. "We're not discussing intervention," Bush told reporters afterward. Later that week, after meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Colorado, the president declared that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait would "not stand" and began major military preparations to defend Saudi Arabia from Iraqi invasion.

In the first discussions among the administration's top advisers, Bush and Scowcroft advocated getting Iraq out of Kuwait and grew fidgety when other administration offi-

cials raised practical objections. After Budget Director Richard Darman had cast doubt on whether economic sanctions could work at all in an economically interdependent world, Bush said impatiently, "But we can't just accept what's happened in Kuwait just because it's too hard to do anything about it."

According to Woodward, the president's concern about the Iraqi invasion seems to have flowed from his fear that Iraq, by dominating Kuwait—and perhaps Saudi Arabia—would achieve control over the world's oil supply. Woodward reports that at the first meeting of top advisers, Bush "seemed worried that Saddam might get Saudi Arabia. He engaged in an extended analysis of the impact on world oil availability and price. ... With just 20 percent of the

world's oil, Saddam would be able to manipulate world prices and hold the U.S. and its allies at his mercy."

Other key advisers shared this concern. Cheney argued that "the marriage of Iraq's military of 1 million men with 20 percent of the world's oil present a significant threat." Scowcroft was concerned that Iraq's new oil wealth would enable it to become a new "superpower" rival to the U.S. and Soviet Union. Neither Bush nor any of his other advisers voiced concerns about international law or Kuwaitis' human rights.

Defense and offense: When Bush first announced on August 8 the deployment of American troops in Saudi Arabia, he characterized the move as "wholly defensive." Various administration critics charged at the time that Bush really planned to use the

The Commanders is a behind-the-scenes report on the motives behind the men.

230,000 troops for offensive and not merely defensive purposes, but Woodward's account suggests that the administration did not misrepresent its actions.

According to *The Commanders*, administration officials were genuinely concerned that Iraq would invade Saudi Arabia. They had been wrong about Iraq invading Kuwait and, as they saw Iraqi troops massing on the Saudi border, thought they saw a repeat of what had happened on the Kuwaiti border. In addition, they believed that Hussein would understand that he stood the best chance of repelling any U.S. challenge if he also held Saudi's oil fields hostage.

The enormous size of the force reflected Powell's modus operandi rather than a veiled strategy of readying an invasion. Powell's philosophy, as practiced in Panama and later in the Gulf, was to assemble an overwhelming force that would ensure victory. Indeed, Powell and Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf estimated that the U.S. would need a force more than twice as large as the 200,000 troops initially deployed—and eight to 12 months—to drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait.

After the administration began deploying troops in Saudi Arabia, it began debating whether it would be necessary to use force to oust Hussein or whether sanctions would do the job. According to Woodward, Powell and Baker were the main administration officials who favored relying on sanctions. Powell called his strategy "strangulation." He presented it to Cheney and Scowcroft, discussed it with Baker and presented it as an option to Bush at a late October meeting in the Oval Office.

Woodward describes Powell's reasoning this way: "He felt that containment or strangulation was working. An extraordinary political-diplomatic coalition had assembled, leaving Iraq without substantial allies. ... Intelligence showed that economic sanctions were cutting off up to 95 percent of Saddam's imports and nearly all his exports. ... There would come a point a month or six weeks before Saddam was down to the last pound of rice when the sanctions would trigger some kind of a response."

Woodward writes that Powell found an ally in Baker, but he does not seem to have interviewed Baker and does not describe at any length Baker's reasoning. Instead, he says that they "thought alike on many issues. Both preferred deal making to confrontation or conflict." Baker tells Powell that he has been working on an analysis of containment that should force some discussion of it, but Woodward does not report whether such a discussion occurred.

By mid-October, Bush, Scowcroft and Cheney were skeptical about whether sanctions would force Saddam out of Kuwait. Their reasoning is not described at length, but Woodward offers some interesting hints.

Late that month, Cheney took Powell to see Bush so that the chairman could present his alternative. Powell stopped short of recommending that Bush pursue containment, merely presenting it as a viable option. According to Woodward, Bush responded, "I don't think there's time politically for that strategy."

What did Bush mean by this? Was he concerned about the crisis dragging into the election year and harming his political prospects? Or was he worried—as suggested later—that the political alliance among the different countries could not weather a year of waiting? Woodward does not provide an answer.

Earlier Woodward recounts how Powell's predecessor, Adm. William J. Crowe, grew disgusted with the political tenor of the Bush administration's National Security Council meetings. According to Woodward, Crowe believed that "decisions were made based on their likely impact on the Congress, the media and public opinion, and the focus was on managing the reaction." But Woodward does not explore the extent to which these kind of political considerations dictated Bush's and the administration's response to the Gulf crisis.

From Woodward's account, there does not seem to have been an extended debate within the administration about going to war.

Colin Powell: Eisenhower redux

Colin Powell emerges from both Bob Woodward's *The Commanders* and Lou Cannon's *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* as the closet moderate in the Reagan and Bush administrations. According to Woodward, Powell despised Col. Oliver North and initially distrusted Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney because he had uncritically defended North's role in the Iran-contra scandal.

In his brilliant portrayal of the Reagan presidency, Cannon characterizes Powell as being "among the most moderate, realistic and thoughtful of Reagan's aides." As Reagan's national security adviser, Powell convinced the president not to use military force to oust Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega. Powell was also skeptical about the contras' military prospects and helped arrange a funding compromise with the Democrats that shut down the Nicaraguan rebels as a military force.

Bush offered to make Powell the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, but, according to Woodward, Powell was critical of Bush's use of racist "Willie Horton" ads in the 1988 campaign and wanted to distance himself from administration circles. He returned to the military before being named chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

By late October, the issue was settled. Over the next two months Baker did continue to push diplomatic initiatives and administration officials did believe prior to January 15 that Hussein might back down, but there was never any doubt that if he did not, the U.S. would strike as soon after January 15 as was militarily feasible.

Averting war: In the end, however, war might have been the result of the administration's inability to communicate its own priorities to Hussein. Woodward cites two junctures at which Bandar and other key participants believed that the final clash could have been averted.

Before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, a stern American warning to Hussein from Bush might have averted an invasion, but, according to Woodward's account, the U.S. and American Ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie were not entirely to blame. The U.S. was misled not only by Iraqi assurances that they would not invade, which were communicated by Hussein to Glaspie during the fateful July meeting, but also by repeated assurances from Egypt's Hosni Mubarak and the Saudis that Hussein would not invade.

In the waning days before the invasion, however, Bush could have acted. Two days before, Defense Department and CIA analysts, who had been quarreling over what the Iraqi troop deployments meant, finally became

As chairman, Powell has been reluctant to use force where he doesn't think it is needed, although he has bowed to the wishes of his superiors. One incident that Woodward recounts reveals much about Powell and Vice President Dan Quayle.

On Nov. 30, 1989, the Pentagon received reports that rebels trying to overthrow Philippine President Corazon Aquino had seized two air bases. That night, with Bush on his way to Malta to meet Mikhail Gorbachov, Quayle chaired a meeting of the National Security Council to discuss what to do.

Aquino's government requested that the U.S. bomb the air fields and a munitions depot. Quayle thought the U.S. should comply with Aquino's request and was backed by a majority in the room. Powell, however, disagreed, arguing that if the purpose was to prevent the antique rebel planes from taking off, that could as easily be accomplished by buzzing the air fields. Bombing could kill people indiscriminately and foment anti-Americanism. Eventually Powell won; the U.S. implemented his plan, using the minimum of force but achieving the desired result of keeping the rebel air force on the ground.

—J.B.J.

convinced that Iraq was going to invade. Powell and Cheney sent an urgent note to the White House suggesting that Bush issue Hussein a personal warning, but nothing happened.

"They pushed the White House," Woodward writes. "As far as Powell could tell, either the White House had another idea about how to handle the problem or the suggestion just fell through the cracks."

Woodward also reports Bandar's belief that, during the months leading up to war, the Bush administration never clearly communicated to Hussein its intention to use force. Bandar was appalled when the president, immediately after winning U.N. support for the use of force, announced that he was willing to send Baker to visit Baghdad. According to Woodward, Bandar thought that "a peace offering 24 hours after the United States and the coalition had scored the United Nations victory would send precisely the wrong message to Saddam: a message of weakness."

When the war started, Bandar was amazed that Hussein appeared taken by surprise. According to Woodward, Bandar concluded that it was because "the message to Saddam had been so mixed and confused over the months. George Bush apparently had been unreadable to Saddam. The ironic truth, Bandar felt, was that the war had been sealed by cultural misunderstanding."

Missing Kurds: What is also interesting about Woodward's book is what he does not include in his narrative about the war. He never reports any administration discussions about what a "new world order" would mean. This may reflect Woodward's lack of interest in the subject or the fact that he is portraying decision-making primarily from the Pentagon's vantage point. Or it may mean—as I came to suspect from talking to administration officials—that they regarded talk of a new world order largely as public relations.

Woodward also never reports any administration discussion of what effect the war against Iraq would have on the Gulf region. Neither the Kurds nor Shiites are even mentioned by Woodward. Again, this may reflect Woodward's peculiar angle on the discussions, but it may also reflect administration disinterest. From Woodward's account, Bush, Scowcroft and Cheney seem to have been so fixated on the geopolitics of oil, the political fallout from the crisis in the U.S. and the purely military objective of victory in battle that they never considered what might happen after the U.S. drove Hussein out of Kuwait.

Clearly, Woodward's book fits former *Washington Post* publisher Donald Graham's description of journalism: it is a first draft of history. Before the final draft is written, journalists and historians will have to address many more important questions about why the U.S. went to war. Why did Bush abruptly change his position in early August from rejecting to backing intervention? Was Thatcher's role—and the memory of her political and military success in ousting the Argentinians from the Falklands—critical? And how important were the British in convincing Bush to go to war?

In addition, how much did politics play a role in Bush's doubts about sanctions? Did Bush fear having the crisis drag into a presidential election year? Did Baker ever openly voice his support for sanctions to Bush—and if so, what happened? And was anyone at all in the administration thinking about the Kurds, the Shiites and a new world order?

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

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Leadership Council would lead Democrats in wrong direction

The Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), a group of elected officials seeking ways for their party to recapture the White House, met last week in Cleveland. Their chairman, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, struck the keynote. Most of his speech consisted of platitudes about a "new choice" that offered nothing new. Clinton would retain the Democratic Party's traditional commitment to the poor, particularly poor children, he said, but he would also develop a new ability to sell the party as the advocate of the middle classes. This would be done by convincing the "very burdened middle class" that the Democrats can be trusted "to defend our national interest abroad, to put their values in [Democratic] social policy at home" and to spend their tax money "with discipline." In short, Clinton wants a kinder, gentler Republican Party.

The theory underlying the DLC's approach—accurately reflected in Clinton's words—is that Democrats have lost the past three presidential elections because they tilted too heavily toward the poor, particularly blacks, and because they have insufficiently supported military spending. And there is a perception among parts of the electorate that this is so, even though no recent Democratic candidate for president fits this profile.

Neither Jimmy Carter, nor Walter Mondale—much less Michael Dukakis—challenged the Reagan-Bush priorities that gave us federal budgets so loaded with military spending that little was left for social needs. Indeed, the escalation of military spending was begun during Carter's presidency, and it has been supported by presidential candidates and most congressional leaders ever since. True, Mondale did give lip service to the needs of the poor during the last stages of his campaign in 1984. But since he did not challenge the military priorities reflected in the Reagan budget, his crocodile tears about the poor gained him little credibility among the poor and lost him support among the middle classes who feared they would be stuck with the bill.

If the Democrats want to win the presidency next year—and more

important, if they are to deserve to win—they will have to represent a genuine alternative to the Bush administration and its priorities. To do that they will have to define national security and well being in terms of the health and welfare of the American people, and not in terms of our ability to police the world in order to protect international corporate interests, mislabeled as "national interests."

The American people have faced the inevitability of crises in public education, health care, housing, the environment, the nation's infrastructure, mass transit and the growing disparity between rich and poor for the past decade or more. These crises are now in full view and looming larger with each passing year. They cannot be solved by a federal government that allocates only 15 percent of its budget to all of the domestic needs of the nation while spending more than that on its military establishment.

It is true that the Democrats' attempts to relieve some of the suffering of our nation's least-affluent citizens have lost them support from some of those in the middle. But that is because these attempts have been made at their expense, and never at the expense of the military-industrial complex. With last year's budget agreement, under which both domestic and military spending have a fixed three-year spending cap, this informal division has become official. That means that increases in domestic spending for one purpose can be paid for only by decreasing another. This, of course, pits low-income workers and the poor against middle-income workers, just as it pits education advocates against health-care supporters, environmentalists against housing groups, and so on in all the possible combinations and permutations.

This is an ingenious device to divide and neutralize all of those who, in their narrow ways, are fighting to improve the quality of life for the American people. But it also makes it easier for people to see the long-term underlying reality. And it offers an opposition party a chance to counter the existing national priorities. If the Democrats really do have the best interest of working Americans at heart—and if they want to become a real opposition party—here is their opportunity.

Such a move would require a genuine campaign of education. It would require more than sound bites and slogans. But it would clearly be in the best national interest, a truly patriotic endeavor for which the majority of the American people might be grateful. And it might even inspire that half of the eligible voters who stay home on election day to come out and vote.

LETTERS

Kinder and gentler

MY BROTHER, RICHARD E. PFEIFFER, #07963-026, died on March 18, 1990, while incarcerated at the Milan Federal Correction Institute in Milan, Mich., after exhibiting symptoms of serious illness, including weight loss, weakness, nausea, vomiting and severe back pain.

Rich's friends saw him deteriorating and feared for his welfare before he died. Two fellow inmates wrote my family after he died, telling us that they tried to get the staff to help Rich but to "no avail." According to their letter, two days before Richard died, he was in excruciating pain. His friend requested medical attention for him because his pain was severe. He hadn't been able to eat anything for several days due to nausea and vomiting. The physician's assistant (PA) on duty refused to see him both times, telling them to have him make sick call on the next Monday.

On the second request for medical attention, the PA told them to have Richard eat something. (At this point, Richard couldn't keep even liquids down.) When Richard collapsed trying to get out of his top bunk, the PA finally agreed to see him, but instead of taking him to the hospital in Ann Arbor, the PA and the associate warden locked Richard in a solitary cell known as "the hole," where he was found unconscious by the staff on Sunday, the day he died.

My family was informed by Warden John Gluch that Richard was found in his cell, that emergency measures were taken and that he was taken to St. Joseph Hospital in Ann Arbor, where he was pronounced dead at 5 p.m. of myocardial infarction. However, Rich's fellow inmates tell us he died in "the hole." They even gave us the name of an inmate in a cell next to his who stated that "Richard died screaming for help."

The autopsy revealed that Rich died of malignant melanoma. The cancer had metastasized to his lungs, adrenals, lymph nodes, periportal and periaortic hilar nodes, skull, ribs and spleen. (The spleen was totally replaced by neoplasm and necrotic tissue.) Yet the staff never diagnosed his disease nor believed he was sick enough to go to the hospital.

Richard was due to be released in six weeks, in May, after serving a one-year term. He was a Vietnam veteran who served two tours of duty and was presented with two Purple Hearts for injuries sustained in battle. He was a member of the Illinois Valley Parachute Club, took several classes there at the prison and was a lifetime member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The same government that Rich fought for and believed in denied him humane medical care when he needed it.

On Rich's autopsy report, it was noted that Rich had a fractured sternum and a fractured fifth rib. His medical report when he was incarcerated noted that he had been operated on nine years prior for a melanoma at the Fitzsimmons Hospital in Colorado. The attending physician told him then that he had every symptom of Agent Orange.

The prison officials never once called Rich's parents to let them know that Richard had been sick. After Rich had written his mother telling her that he had been real sick and that he couldn't get any help, Mom called the prison and talked to one of Rich's case managers, who refused any informa-



tion on Rich's condition. Mom sent a letter to Rich the next day. Nine days later, the phone rang (Mom thought it was Rich calling)—"Mrs. Goldsby, this is Sgt. — [Mom was in shock; she doesn't remember his name]. Your son Richard died at approximately 5:30 p.m. today."

Over 400 people attended Rich's visitation and funeral. They even had a memorial service at the prison. Many inmates sent us their names, confirming that they would testify that the officials murdered Rich.

It is my prayer that, through this letter, you'll make the people aware of what is going on in our jails and prisons.

Steve Pfeiffer
South Pekin, Ill.

Paradise revisited

I AM A RETIRED COAST GUARD COMMANDER. I LIVED in Honolulu for five years and in a Big Island rainforest above Mililii for eight years. I think Hawaii is a special place, but it's in big trouble.

Joan Conrow's placative report on tourism in the 50th state, "Paradise lost" (ITT, April 10), was informative but lacking. For example, it fails to discuss the extent of suffering by native Hawaiians, the steady increase in crime or the systematic environmental destruction due to "the visitor industry."

Studies by the University of Hawaii show a direct correlation between tourism and crime over the past 50 years. The current \$12 billion annual tourist business has contributed to the highest crime rate in Hawaiian history. And not only has the level of lawlessness increased, so has the complexity as organized crime from Japan and the U.S. grabs its piece of the action from the Hawaiian "mafia."

Disney-designed kitsch palaces such as the Big Island's Hyatt Waikaloa Resort, built for \$350 million, destroy fragile habitats,

species, the natural beauty and the "Aloha" lifestyle. Fish are disappearing from the once-rich Kona Coast as a result of burgeoning pollution and excessive sport fishing. Native hardwoods such as koa and ohia are being depleted; the sandalwood trees are almost gone. Rainforests are wantonly destroyed; topsoil is relocated to suit condominium and golf-course developers, regardless of flood-control impacts. More toxic chemicals are sprayed on plantations and golf courses than in any other state.

And the military, with its more than 100 bases, adds to the environmental destruction. Its super-contribution to tourism—Pearl Harbor, acquired by the U.S. in exchange for a sugar subsidy, is contaminated regularly by human, petroleum and nuclear wastes. Beautiful Pearl Harbor, home to more than 3,000 nuclear warheads and a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines, is an environmental nightmare.

To provide electricity to Honolulu's air-conditioned hotels, the governor wants to endanger Big Island residents and destroy Volcanos National Park by developing geothermal power. Waihee would drill hundreds of toxic-gas-releasing wells into the side of Mauna Loa, a very active volcano, make electricity from the heat obtained and hang the transmission lines from a thousand pylons crossing the island from south to north.

Since "haoles" landed at Hawaii Ne, they've exploited the land, its people and their Aloha. Soon there will be nothing left to exploit; only the greed will remain.

John Otranto-Semmler
Remerling, Germany

Dumb furriners

WHO'D HAVE THOUGHT THAT A BUNCH OF IRATE Iranian ayatollahs could figure out by themselves that holding some American hostages would throw a monkey wrench into the 1980 U.S. election?

It's really fortunate the Reagan/Bush cam-

paign committee existed to suggest such a plot to the Iranians. If not for such meddling U.S. groups, the world would be a fine place. Gosh all golly gee, I wonder how nations ever managed to disagree with each other before the U.S. came on the scene.

Of course, the likely possibility that a group of clever Iranians played the Reagan/Bush campaign officials like a cheap violin seems too strange to be true. What? Some Americans were suckered? Oh, how rude to even suggest it.

My, my, indeed. When anyone reviews the astuteness, skill and sensitivity of the Reagan/Bush administration, how could they fail to think the "hostage crisis" was but another clever campaign gimmick? Those poor simple mullahs were the ultimate pigeons for an ol' genius such as Bill Casey and the Reagan/Bush folks.

Just look at the record of the past decade.

Ted Rushton
Phoenix, Ariz.

One big difference

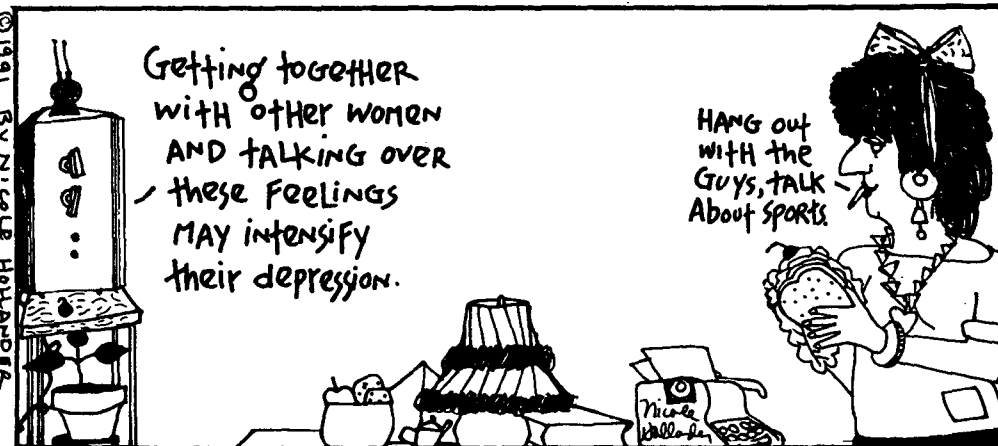
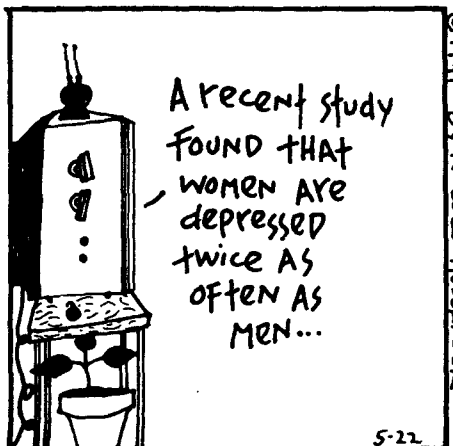
HAVING FOLLOWED THE EXCHANGE YOU HAD with Michael Parenti about your advocacy of Lithuanian independence (Letters, April 24, May 8), I am moved to ask why you have not uttered a word in favor of the independence of Soviet Georgia, Soviet Armenia, Soviet Azerbaijan and Soviet Moldavia? Nor have you voiced support for the self-determination struggles of the autonomous regions and minorities within those various republics. Nor, as far as I know, have you come out for independence for the Basques, the Kurds, the Slovaks, the Croats and others—some of whom have suffered far more and struggled longer for independence than the Lithuanians.

By giving editorial support to Lithuanian independence (and to the other two Baltic States) but not to the many other peoples, you mirror exactly the position put forth by the U.S. government and major news media. It seems that your position is influenced more by the respectability the issue has in establishment policy circles than by the inherent merits of the case. If so, that's one big difference between you and Parenti.

Cynthia Ward Hamilton
Seattle, Wash.

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

By Greg Gaut

DURING THE PERSIAN GULF CRISIS, MANY of us in the anti-war movement fell into the habit of prefacing every leaflet and speech with the statement that we "supported the troops."

This was an understandable reaction to the situation we faced. During the long countdown to the shooting war, we worried about massive U.S. casualties. But war protesters also said they supported the troops because they didn't want "to repeat the mistake we made in the Vietnam War." Thus the right-wing history of the Vietnam era—in which peace advocates "spat on and vilified" returning Vietnam veterans—had become conventional wisdom.

The right-wing version of the popular reaction to the Vietnam War has confused many of the people who actually opposed that war, as well as a host of young opponents who have no personal memory of the period. We need to clarify the actual connections between the movement to end the war in Vietnam and the troops that were fighting it. We need to replace right-wing mythology with the true story: that there was a massive resistance to the war within the armed forces; that there was considerable work done within the civilian peace movement to support this "G.I. movement"; and that after 1970, returning Vietnam veterans became the emotional soul of the stateside anti-war movement. It's absolutely true that the Vietnam veterans got a bad deal when they returned, but the entire nation—and especially the federal government—was responsible.

Yet the right-wing myth is not quite a total fabrication. Big lies are often based on small truths. There were some misguided individuals and organizations in the anti-war movement who criticized and even attacked returning G.I.s. Often, this was the work of middle-class "activists" who arrogantly mistook their easy access to draft alternatives for a supposed moral superiority. At the very least, criticism of the returning veterans reflected little understanding



It's time to tell truth about peace movement's history

of what they had gone through. But this was never the policy or the practice of the overwhelming bulk of the peace movement during the struggle against the war.

The G.I. movement: In recovering the history of the peace movement, we should start with the startling fact that the U.S. military machine crumbled from within during the Vietnam War. This hidden history is the subject of David Cortright's *Soldiers in Revolt* (1975), perhaps the most important forgotten book about the Vietnam War. By 1969, U.S. ground forces in Vietnam had disintegrated as a fighting force in the biggest crisis of morale ever faced by the U.S. military. And Cortright makes clear that, contrary to popular belief, it was enlistees rather than draftees who were responsible. This breakdown of morale had many causes. To begin with, there was a stateside G.I. movement composed of protest organizations at most bases in every branch of the service. This movement produced 250 G.I. newspapers (with names such as *About Face*, *Eyes Left*, *All Hands Abandon Ship* and *Harass the Brass*) and organized off-base coffeehouses and staged protests.

In Vietnam, there was no open anti-war movement, but there was resistance in the

form of "survival politics" that led to 12 mini-mutinies of platoons and companies. And in addition to these combat refusals, there was widespread avoidance of contact with the enemy, especially as the war wore on. This dynamic escalated into "fragging"—the murder of officers by enlisted men. Nearly 100 gung-ho officers were killed by their troops in this way. Furthermore, a long pattern of military racism resulted in widespread resistance by African-American G.I.s. And there was a staggering level of drug use by G.I.s in Vietnam. This was the most general escape from the insanity.

By 1969, the U.S. ground forces could no longer conduct the war, and withdrawal and "Vietnamization" were necessary. As the focus shifted to total reliance on air power, resistance spread to the aircraft carriers, especially by African-American sailors. In 1972, two carriers—the *Kitty Hawk* and the *Constellation*—experienced African-American protest. The *Constellation* was actually forced to return to base to discharge 130 African-American protesters, the largest mutiny in U.S. Navy history. Eventually, there were even a few combat refusals among B-52 crews operating out of Guam and Thailand.

Many groups within the civilian anti-war movement supported the G.I. resistance. This happened at many stateside bases, where civilians became involved in supporting G.I. coffeehouses and newspapers. There was also a significant effort to provide legal and counseling support to the G.I. movement. There was much to do. According to the statistics in Lawrence Baskir and William Strauss' *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War and the Vietnam Generation* (1978), there were about 1.5 million AWOLs and 563,000 less-than-honorable discharges between 1964 and 1974. One response was the Pacific Counseling Service, which in 1971 had 11 offices, six on the West Coast and five near U.S. bases in the Pacific. The National Lawyers Guild sent lawyers to the Philippines and Okinawa to support the G.I. movement. There was also a stateside network of local military counseling organizations, which received technical backup from organizations such as the Central Committee on Conscientious Objection.

Another example of civilian support for the G.I. movement was Jane Fonda's FTA ("Fuck the Army") Show, a kind of movement alternative to Bob Hope's USO shows. They played for large G.I. crowds all over the world. In 1971, 1,500 sailors on the *Constellation* signed a petition asking that FTA be allowed to play on the carrier's deck, just as Bob Hope had.

Fonda was not allowed, but she instead played to more than 4,000 G.I.s at an off-base venue in San Diego.

Eventually, returning anti-war veterans formed Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), which became a force in the anti-war movement in 1970. Its most memorable act, and one of the most moving moments in American history, came in April 1971. The VVAW called it Dewey Cannon III, a series of protests climaxed by the return of medals earned in Vietnam by more than 1,000 veterans. One by one, they threw their Purple Hearts and Silver Stars over a fence built around the Capitol steps by the police.

The question of atrocities: Then, as now, the peace movement's relation to the troops was complicated by the issue of atrocities. This question became unavoidable in November 1969, when Seymour Hersh's articles about My Lai began to appear in the *New York Times*. On March 16, 1968, Charlie Company, led by Lt. William Calley, had killed 122 residents of the village of My Lai 4, including many unarmed women and even children. In 1971, Calley was convicted for murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. (The sentence was later reduced to 10 years, and he was paroled in 1975.)

Hersh's articles were no surprise to those who closely followed the war. Atrocities similar to those at My Lai were common. The nation's reaction was instructive: there was massive guilt-driven denial ("it didn't happen"); rationalization ("all war is hell"); and righteous self-anger against the bearers of the bad news ("stop picking on our boys—the Vietnamese had it coming"). For some veterans, these responses only made the problem worse. In early 1971, VVAW held the "Winter Soldier" hearings in Detroit, where more than 100 veterans testified about acts of brutality they had committed or witnessed in Vietnam, making clear that My Lai was not an isolated incident.

No victory parades: Veterans—and the entire nation—needed to understand that those ordered to fight the Vietnam War were victims of a criminal policy. But the nation in the '70s did not want to confront the war-time realities, and this denial eventually led to the election of Ronald Reagan, a man adept at denying and fabricating so much of his own life. He helped the nation forget the ugliness, guilt and embarrassment associated with the Vietnam War and fabricate a more satisfying memory in its place. But by rejecting Vietnam's reality, the nation continued what Robert Jay Lifton calls the "malignant spiral of self-deception, brutalization and numbing."

Given this national psychology, it is not surprising that Vietnam veterans felt the country was indifferent to them when they returned. Very much alone, suddenly cut off from their units, many veterans were struck by the enormous disparity of sacrifice: a few were sent to a nightmare to die and kill, and the rest were asked for virtually nothing. True, there were no victory parades for them—there had been no victory—but worse than that, society failed to acknowledge their horrifying experience.

Perhaps the peace movement bears responsibility here, for we failed to seek out the returning veterans to any significant extent. But if we were guilty, so was the entire nation.

Greg Gaut was a counselor for Minnesota Draft and Military Help in Minneapolis in 1970-72. He is now finishing a doctorate in history.

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By James Stodder

COLUMNIST WILLIAM SAFIRE CLAIMS THE reason the Soviet Union is in trouble is that it is "the last multinational empire." If "last" means "sole surviving," then this is wrong, as most any Irishman, Basque, Punjabi or Kurd would be quick to tell him. If wordsmith Safire's "last" is taken in the sense of "latest," then he is still wrong but at least getting warmer. What Lenin called the czar's "prison house of nations" was only a couple of hundred years old when it came under Bolshevik administration.

A prison made up of 156 languages, 88 national territories and 15 "republics" is not turned into a democratic polity just by letting its ethnic gangs trade with each other. The Soviet "command economy" is today being not so much abolished as reconstituted along ethnic lines. Lenin hoped for the withering away of the state, but he didn't mean that the final stage of socialism should be the first stage of feudalism.

Neither Boris Yeltsin nor Mikhail Gorbachov has presented a plan for getting most state property into private hands quickly. Not that it's obvious how to do it. "We may be experts ... but we're not experts in creating a stock exchange from scratch," was the comment of Salomon Brothers' chief executive officer, in Moscow on technical assistance. When the state already owns almost all property, who can afford to buy "shares" of it besides foreigners, bureaucrats and gangsters?

New York University's Roman Frydman and Columbia University's Andrzej Rapaczynski, in their widely circulated paper "Privatization and Corporate Governance in Eastern Europe," argue that Eastern capital markets are too "thin" to achieve sales at efficient prices. So few economic actors are capable of both evaluating and bidding for existing state resources that these will either not trade at world prices or else not trade at all. They advocate a massive distribution of stock to all citizens to set the basis for competitive capital markets. Each citizen would be handed an identical portfolio of thousands of tiny shares, one for each state firm to be privatized.

Managing portfolios: But how will the Russian man in the street, Ivan Ivanovich, know how to manage this—which stocks are dogs and which are the stars? There is no need to "reinvent the wheel": private mutual funds can offer competing strategies for managing and reassembling these portfolios. Mutual funds and employee pension funds exert increasing pressure on corporate management in the West; there's no reason they can't do the same in the East.

Direct investment by foreigners, as well as by management or workers, should be limited, not banned. Foreign "outsiders" and union/management "insiders" are the ones best able to evaluate and manage individual firms. They have knowledge and money that should not go to waste. But only a minority of shares need go to these new owners. The vast majority of shares can be bundled into equally distributed citizen-shares.

Such a stock giveaway plan is not just the brainchild of academic economists. Stock giveaways are now advocated by both the Polish parliament and the Czech Ministry of Finance. Stanley Fischer, who started the Socialist Economies Unit at the World

Soviet Union scrambles to privatize from scratch

Bank, has also spoken in favor of giveaways. And Paul Craig Roberts, from the libertarian-right Cato Institute, counsels Soviet politicians that it will be easier to win elections by saying "the Communist Party is stealing the property that I intend to give to you" rather than "the Communist Party is stealing the property that I intend to sell to black-market millionaires and foreigners."

Exactly what is to be done? With this much agreement spanning left to right, one wants to ask about details. Here one can make an analogy between the history of Third World land reforms and this proposed "capital reform." Leftists can be expected to argue that most state assets should be distributed freely, as opposed to a few tokens to legitimize a regressive distribution. Many leftists will also argue, unfortunately, for limitations on the resale or assignment of these assets, despite the effect this would have on growth and credit.

Early last fall when I was in Moscow, before the scrapping of the 500-day economic-reform plan, there were talks going on between the economic advisers to Yeltsin and

Gorbachov. I met with Edgar Feige, a University of Wisconsin economist, in a dining room overlooking Red Square. He was there as a guest of the Russian parliament and meeting with top economic advisers to both

A prison made up of 156 languages and 88 national territories is not turned into a democratic polity just by letting its ethnic gangs trade with each other.

Yeltsin and Gorbachov. Feige was pushing free distribution of stock shares as the way to achieve "socialist privatization."

This dialectical resolution of opposites was being hinted at in September by Gorbachov's top economist, Nikolai Petrakov, when he announced, "State property is not the same thing as socialist property." The

obvious next turn of this dialectic, toward "socialist private property" was one Gorbachov was not willing or able to take. Nor is this the sort of reform slogan that most Western cheerleaders had in mind.

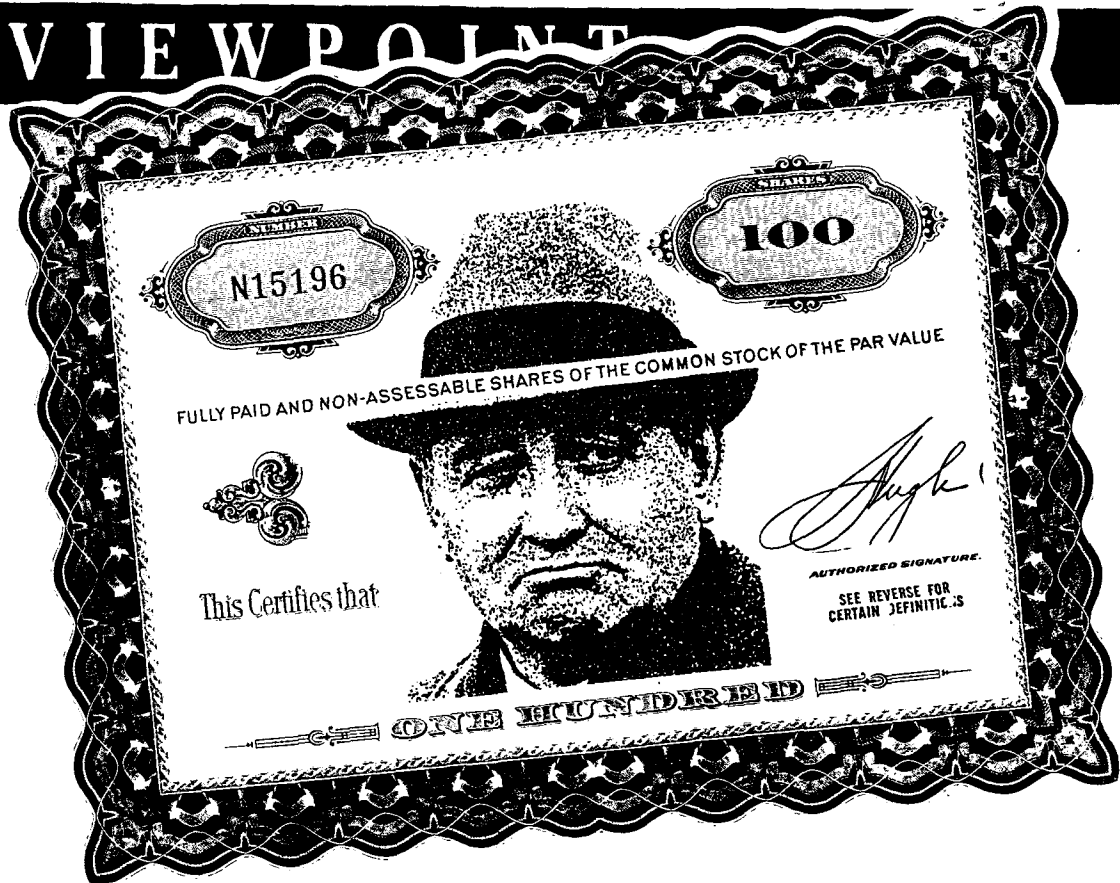
In October, Petrakov quit, charging that reform had been sabotaged by the Iron Triangle of the Soviet military-industrial complex—party, trade-union and top-brass insiders who refused to relinquish "guardianship" of the nation's wealth amid increasing disorder.

There were tobacco riots in Moscow last summer because Azerbaijan refused to send cigarette filters. Russia recently told the Ukraine that it would not send oil unless the Ukraine sends more meat. These are not negotiations about price; this is the prelude to economic civil war.

To prevent this, ownership of wealth must be distributed among households all across the country. Comingled assets make divorce more difficult. Otherwise, the alternative to one centralized command economy is just two, three, many command economies.

Fear of such chaos may have led many Soviets to vote for a "renewed" union in the recent referendum. But without mutual economic advantage, they are left with only that tried and true czarist-Stalinist principle of unity, a club on the head.

James Stodder teaches economics at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, N.Y.



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Spanish explorers bring a little bit of that Old World charm to the "savages" of the New World.

The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy

By Kirkpatrick Sale
Alfred A. Knopf, 384 pp., \$24.95

The hemisphere lay waiting to be touched with life ... cleansed of defilement and cured of weariness, so as to be fit for the virgin purity of a new bride.

—Woodrow Wilson, *New Freedom*
History begins for us with murder and enslavement, not with discovery.

—William Carlos Williams,
In the American Grain

By Matthew Wills

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS IS A cipher, to be unlocked and decoded by the reigning zeitgeist or its discontents. So little is definitely known about the man that successive generations of Americans and Europeans have

Columbus and the New World disorder

molded him into all sorts of shapes, some noble and saintly, others desperate and degenerate. Half a millennium after Cristóbal Colón (he of the many names) sunk his boots into the sands of the "New World," the meaning and effect of that barely recorded but much-mythologized moment still resound through history. As the two quotes above suggest, there are extreme polarities in the understanding of that day in October 1492.

The struggle over the lessons of the Columbian legacy are still at the forefront of the struggle over what it means to be "American," and, indeed, what it means to be part of

Western civilization. A March 13 article in *Chronicle of Higher Education* reveals the struggle to be in full bloom: some scholars charge that the National Endowment for the Humanities is guided by a political agenda (aka, the defense of the great white men of history) in its refusal to give grants to "controversial" (or "multiple points of view") scholarship and programs concerning the 500th anniversary of the landfall.

Columbus circus: With next year's promised blowout of a celebration for the Quincentennial, an event potentially overflowing with nationalist signification, a somber, skeptical look is necessary at what

has been wrought by, and since, that footprint in the sand. The hype, after all, suggests a multicontinental (32 nations have quinquennial commissions) extravaganza gone bananas: 12 full-scale replicas of the original ships—the actual plans of which are lost to history—are being built, one of them commissioned by the Japanese; \$50 million worth of flowers will be on display in Columbus, Ohio's "AmeriFlora '92"; an opera by Philip Glass and David Henry Hwang will premier in New York City; the Columbian world's fair will be held in Seville; the Barcelona Summer Olympic Games is to be dedicated to the Discoverer; a 390-foot lighthouse will be erected in the impoverished Dominican Republic at a cost of \$10 million; Genoa will host the fifth international conference of Columbianists; Spain will launch a communications satellite named after the sailor who first spotted land (it was not Colón, though he original-

ly took the credit—and the reward).

No matter that other Europeans—Vikings and cod fishermen, among others—had seen the New World well before Colón's sailor; no matter that Colón's motivation—the route-to-Asia thesis is much debated—is unknown; no matter that no one is sure where Colón's famous footstep was, leading a host of Caribbean islands to claim the honor. No matter: the show must go on. (The Quincentennial's proximity to the next presidential election suggests such non-issue demagoguery as candidates charging that their opponents would have voted against Columbus' mission.)

Not everyone will be complacently watching this all-singing, all-dancing spectacular, however. New York Green Party founder, historian of the Students for a Democratic Society, contributing editor of *The Nation* and small-is-beautiful theoreti-

cian Kirkpatrick Sale is one who is resolutely not riding on the Quinc' flotilla. There are others, of course, notably those representatives of the indigenous populations who find nothing to celebrate in the virtual genocide of the original discoverers and settlers of the Americas, but, typically, their voices will be drowned out in all the victorious shouting. For now, Sale will have to do; he does very well in his dissent, but he does not speak for those who were here before, only for those of us who came afterward, which is as it should be.

Captain of his destiny? Part history and part historiography, *The Conquest of Paradise* is a thoroughly researched debunking of all the accumulated and encrusted nonsense surrounding the figure of Colón/Columbus. Historical narrative and quotations from Colón's journal, as well as the rewritten journals (plagiarism being only loosely defined in the 15th and 16th centuries), follow events in both Europe and the (soon-to-be) Americas. Intimately entwined with this examination of man, myth and historical context is an environmental-impact statement for Western civilization. The results of the collage are most instructive, but not at all heartening.

About Colón, Sale is certainly no mythographer or "historiografist" (another type of magic realist). His Admiral of the Indies is a shifty autobiographer, bad navigator, lousy record-keeper, even worse observer and wretched administrator who spent time in prison courtesy of the king and queen who sponsored his first voyage. The admiral ended his last years as an "increasingly demented malcontent," producing paranoid, apocalyptic and self-pitying tracts that are only now being translated into English.

Sale suggests that Colón suffered from Reiter's syndrome, a persistent series of inflammations of the joints, eyes and urinary tract that sometimes results from dysentery and strikes with gout, arthritis and temporary blindness; whether the admiral was actually driven insane by his agonies is, of course, like most things about him, impossible to know. But Sale suggests that Colón did suffer from something we might call European's syndrome: a combination of suicidal "eco-hubris" and a destructive kind of social/cultural schizophrenia whose manifestations in Colón sound all too familiar:

"It is almost as if he had an imperfect understanding of the line between truth and falsity—or perhaps more accurate, he did not consider that distinction morally or technically important, so long as higher ends were involved. ... For Colón, at any rate, these distinctions were regularly blurred, and the resultant deception and deceit, conscious and unconscious, have created a good deal of confusion about the man and his motives, even among his contemporaries and companions and certainly among his subsequent chroniclers. They created, too, as we shall

see, that failure to distinguish the real world from the illusory, the experienced from the imagined, which we call madness."

What did he know and when did he know it?

For Sale, the restless Colón's greatest sin was his homelessness. Permanently adrift, without a homeland (his place and year of birth are

It is almost as if Columbus had an imperfect understanding of the line between truth and fantasy.

contested; his name was very mutable, even in his own mind), Colón knew no environment to call his own. "Colón, alas, was a man never to know *querencia*, never truly to inhabit any one environment, always to go through his life without that most basic of touchstones, a home." (*Querencia* is the Spanish sense of and love of home, environment, place.) Hence, he was utterly unequipped to catalogue the natural wonders of the New World—his journal and its imitators are barren of descriptions—or, often, even mentions—of flora and fauna, and, significantly, he was completely free to look at land as only something to be exploited to its maximum capabilities.

Europe adrift: Sale comes back to this point many times, extending Colón's individual placelessness to Europe's bursting "rootlessness and restlessness." The Renaissance centering of man above God/nature and the dynamo of an emergent capitalism (with its handmaiden, newly rational science), combined with this lack of home to forge the mad rush to despoil the New World, a rush that continues to this day. "For the society as for the individual, rootedness is health," argues Sale. Europe, mired in the post-plague, Inquisition-ridden strife of violently birthing nation-states, beset by "turmoil, poverty, repression, misery and bewilderment," spewed its children forth upon the seas, as if new lands—presumed "virgin lands"—could clean up the mess.

But, alas, people always carry their baggage with them. Eradication of human and animal and plant followed in the wake of the fleeing Europeans (see Peter Matthiessen's *Wildlife in America* for a chronicle of the species-by-species decimation); the very land itself was radically transformed. The Europeans were so bogged down in their own cultures that transplanting them to the New World initially resulted in near-starvation amid the plenty: both the Spanish in New Grenada and the English in Jamestown refused to eat the local produce, even when their own ludicrously inappropriate European crops failed.

It's easy to sympathize with Sale's need to find out what went so disas-

trously wrong with this first contact of two peoples, but talk of homelands and homelessness and rootedness stirs up haunting echoes in this century where politics has so swiftly corrupted ideals. Nationalists of various sorts have had their bloody day with mother/father lands, nationalities, ethnicities, races and "rootless cosmopolitans." The North American right (Peggy Noonan and Newt Gingrich, for example) claim that the homeless are "pathological" or "anecdotal," diseased or non-existent; the South American right's sense of place—the boundaries of the state—is one of the foundations of "national security" terrorism. These are not good precedents. Being rooted in the environment is not the same as fetishizing the land as a source of ideological identity, but the line between the two can be dangerously manipulated. Sale needs to be careful moving about this deeply disturbing minefield.

Feast of nostalgia: Reading *The Conquest of Paradise*, one feels anew the tremendous loss for what might have been had two alien cultures

succeeded in coming together peacefully, and an even greater sense of tragedy for what has been vanquished. Millions of native Americans were killed by disease and war, and the societies born amid all that destruction are to this day paying the price of the destruction in the wake of European discovery, conquest and colonization. In Guatemala and the Amazon, remember, the conquest continues unabated.

Here in North America, we devour the past and regurgitate it as nostalgic myth. The Quincentennial is a case in point, only writ large across the world. It shouldn't be so odd that Sale, too, verges on the nostalgic, with his portrayal of the original cultures of the Americas as self-sufficient, peaceful, disease-free and one with nature. His desire for paradise is strong, like the Europeans he writes about questing for that "virgin purity of a new bride."

We do have something to learn from the sound agricultural practices and environmentally conscious ways of these people, but in the final analysis little is really known about

them. Accounts are colored by people whose vision was based on paradigmatic "noble savage"/"savage beast" dichotomies; the cultures themselves were quickly eradicated or radically transformed upon contact.

Yet who, in this damaged world, can blame Sale for being influenced by the seductions of a simpler (environmental) primitivism? Sale's interpretation of the past tells us more about our own time than anything else. To paraphrase Bertolt Brecht, unhappy indeed is the world that needs its ideal society. This book should be read to deconstruct such received wisdom as the mythological boilerplate surrounding Colón, but parts of it should be read as skeptically as Sale reads Colón. The past of the pre-Columbian world is DOA—it was murder, premeditated or accidental, but murder all the same—and it can only give us hints toward our own answers.

©1991 Matthew Wills

Matthew Wills is a writer living in Iowa City.

A world of gifts that just keep on giving

Indian Givers

By Jack Weatherford
Fawcett Columbine
272 pp., \$8.95

The cover blurb from the *Washington Post* says that "*Indian Givers* is a book that will last," and for once it seems that those folks in the mysterious East took off the Beltway blinders and saw the real deal. Although *Indian Givers* was first published almost three years ago, the book couldn't be more timely—especially in light of the impending Columbus Quincentennial hoopla (see accompanying article).

Indian giver. It's an expression laced with racism and rife with misunderstanding. An Indian giver is supposedly one who first presents a gift and later reneges on the offering—as in, those treacherous savages. Never mind that most Indians didn't really believe in property or ownership in the European sense—a gift once given might be taken back if there were a real need. But a casual reading of a couple hundred broken treaties suggests that, in a more fundamental way, it's the white man who has had trouble keeping his word.

Jack Weatherford doesn't accentuate the negative side of the idiom,

however, but emphasizes the literal side of things: what the American Indians have given the world. He starts at the bottom. The bottom line, that is.

In the first century after Columbus, Weatherford notes, the amount of gold and silver in European coffers increased eightfold. This booty, secured by Indian slave labor, tilted world power Europe's way. With their economies stabilized, European states increased trade with the Near and Far East (thereby undermining Africa's economies, which, in turn, wound up promoting the slave trade). But not to worry, this is no econ text; Weatherford weaves his economics into an engaging narrative. He begins this section with a slice of life, if you can call it living, from a contemporary Bolivian miner. It's a chilling tale of poverty in the shadow of what was once a literal mountain of silver.

Similarly, other sections start out personal and work through to historical, social and scientific breakthroughs of the native Americans. In the realm of agriculture, for instance, Indians' low-tech high-yield agriculture is just beginning to be understood—their amazing genetic knowledge of corn created endless varieties

adapted to drought or monsoon, mountainside or valley, bad soil or good. Not only corn but potatoes, tomatoes, squash, pepper and countless other foods came to the Old World to change our ways of eating. Italian food without tomatoes and peppers wouldn't be much. Chinese and Indian food, too, would lack many of their characteristic spices and vegetables if not for foods cultivated and perfected by the Indians.

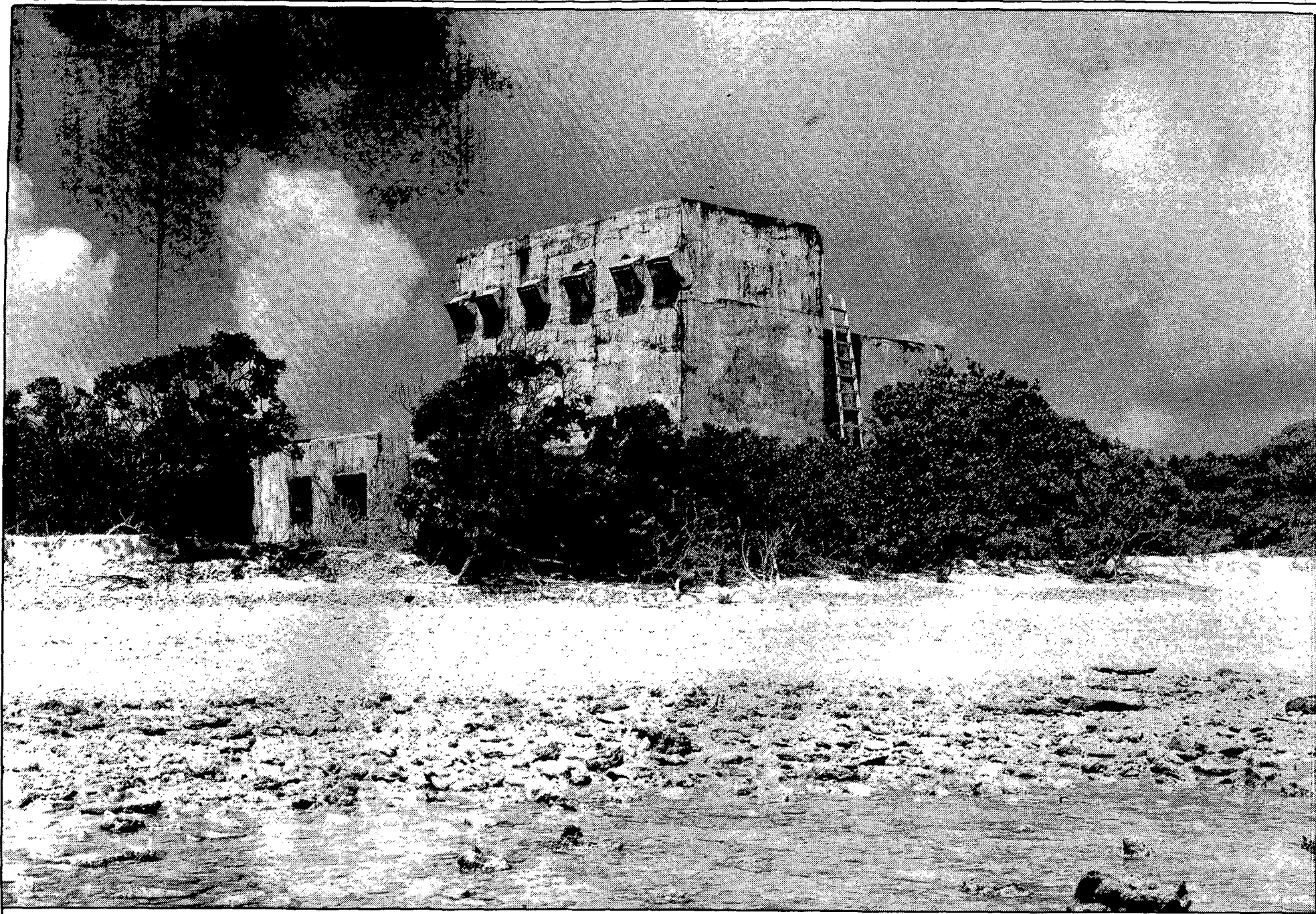
And without the potato not only Ireland but also Germany and the Soviet Union may have had trouble staying in the modern European world. Before the dietary stability brought by the nutritious, easy-to-grow potato, the Northern countries had always been subject to periodic famines, which soon became almost a thing of the past (even the Irish potato famine might have been avoided if the spud-loving Irish had grown more different varieties of the tuber, as was the Indian practice).

Weatherford highlights the ecological, industrial and pharmaceutical breakthroughs of the Indians that virtually created the modern world. Particularly interesting is the section on the Founding Indian Fathers. It turns out that Benjamin Franklin and other influential New World political theorists studied the native American tribal federations to come up with the idea of the U.S. federation. Maximized local control, separation of military and civilian duties, female suffrage and frequent elections were all part of Indian political organization that ultimately influenced the shape of the white American nation.

The author's fluid style and the unsuspected connections he finds turn this into a real adventure story. And ultimately, who knows? It might even help lead to the discovery of the New World.

—Jeff Reid





Photographer Peter Goin visited nuclear bomb test sites to capture the battered desolation of ground zero and environs.

Nuclear Landscapes

By Peter Goin
Johns Hopkins University Press
176 pp., \$29.95

By Will Nixon

Nuclear ghosts and the blood of the land

PHOTOGRAPHER PETER GOIN moved to the basin and range province of Nevada in 1984 and soon grew curious about the chunky wing of military reservations that spreads northwest of Las Vegas on the map, a tan-shaded no man's land marked only by some dry lake beds and 7,000 peaks. Back in 1952, then-Gov. Charles Russell had sounded only too happy to cede several hundred square miles to our blossoming nuclear-bomb program, proclaiming, "We had long ago written off that terrain as wasteland, and today's it's blossoming with atoms!" The Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce gave out tourist maps directing the curious to watch the boiling mushroom clouds made of fire as pure as the sun.

But that early naiveté has given way to anxiety about radioactivity, the invisible poison we've spilled out of the weapons bottle and can't seem to clean up. "Nuclear landscapes are landscapes of fear," Goin writes in the preface to this remarkable collection of photographs that turns the Earth itself into the red menace we sought to defeat with such unbridled testing.

After much cajoling, Goin got the Department of Energy to drive him onto the Nevada Test Site, where there is little that might catch your eye: the dry distant mountains lie like the tangled laundry of the last great geological era turned to stone. The dry white bed of Frenchman Lake interrupts the flat plain of baked brown dirt tufted with sagebrush. Even the blue sky seems tiring, with its bleached color reminiscent of cheap postcards. But Goin knew this landscape had been changed: he shot the sink holes that pock-mark the terrain after so many

underground blasts, the giant Martian-red crater left by the Plowshares program, undertaken to see if we could use nukes to excavate canals and road cuts.

Goin shoots within some strict formal standards: no people, slightly bleached colors as if everything has sat in the sun too long, and an expansive composition often dominated by one central object that grandly breaks the horizon line. This approach turns the debris from above-ground testing into timeless monuments.

We see a rusted railroad bridge mounted on concrete slabs like an

abstract sculpture, a circle of wire fence and wood stakes that once held test animals, a full house gone the color of driftwood. To study the impact of an atom bomb on the typical '50s American family, the testers filled such houses with furniture and well-dressed mannequins.

Goin then traveled to the Hanford Nuclear Reservation on the Columbia River in eastern Washington, where the government appropriated 570 square miles in 1943 to build its

PHOTOGRAPHY

first plutonium-processing plant. His first picture shows rows of weathered tree stumps in golden grass, the graveyard remains of fruit orchards that once covered the land. Now the reservation has become acres of tilled dirt and smoothly bulldozed trenches as the government seeks to bury radioactive waste. There's a tunnel entrance that leads nowhere, yellow stakes marking potentially hot dirt, and the twin cylinder slices from a nuclear submarine meant to hold the decommissioned reactors for 1,000 years.

So far, enough radioactive fluid has been spilled into the reservation land to flood Manhattan Island 40 feet deep. Goin writes, "The Centers for Disease Control recently concluded that residents of Hanford received higher amounts of radioiodine in their thyroid glands than people

living in the immediate vicinity of the Chernobyl reactor explosion that occurred in the Soviet Union in 1986."

Goin finished his nuclear journey at the Bikini and Enewetak atolls in the western Pacific, a lush contrast to the semi-arid West. Here, the weather-stained concrete bunkers that once held explosion monitors are gradually disappearing down into spindly bushes and sweeping palm trees. Their odd boxy shapes now make them seem like Mayan ruins designed by Le Corbusier. Life goes on among the flora and fauna here, and in Nevada and at Hanford, although not without the clattering of the Geiger counters. It's we people who have driven ourselves from these places. After shooting the Burial Gardens at Hanford, an impressively bulldozed trench slowly filling up with neat rows of barrels, Goin climbed back into the truck. "My guide asked me if I had on a bathing suit under my clothes," he writes. "That way," he said, "if you do have to go into the showers, your modesty will be protected. All the decontamination personnel are women."

Years ago, Tom Lehrer wrote a lighthearted tune about cowboys at home on the testing range in their lead BVDs. It's a song that's starting to lose its humor.

Will Nixon is a writer living in New York.

The residents of Hanford received higher amounts of radioiodine in their thyroid glands than people living in the immediate vicinity of the Chernobyl reactor explosion that occurred in 1986.

TV trouble

Continued from page 24

reported to an April 1990 meeting of advertisers and TV executives that audience levels for TV as a whole in the first quarter of the year had plummeted. Drops of up to 14 percent were recorded among younger adults (the most active consumers) during the daytime hours and up to 7 percent during the evening "prime time" hours. Overall, 4.5 percent of the viewing audience—something like 3 million households—had simply turned their TVs off! The inconceivable had occurred: a percentage of the population had apparently chosen to tune out not only network TV but the whole spectacle—which was also, of course, the spectacle of advertisement, of selling the society back to itself.

At this point, many may have been tempted to smile or heave a sigh of relief. By almost anyone's standards, American TV is abominable, and TV seems to be on an endless search for ways to excite increasingly bored viewers. So it was just faintly possible that the 4.5 percent had really disappeared, and for a good reason: they couldn't take it anymore.

Money changes everything: But there was a whole TV industry—or, rather, a nexus of advertisers, ad agencies and networks accounting for more than \$10 billion in annual advertising—that couldn't afford to accept the Nielsen findings. All hell broke loose in this industry in early summer 1990.

Because of the missing 4.5 percent, the networks stood to lose a lot of money. Their ability to sell advertising time (for which they charged up to \$320,000 per 30 seconds) depended on guaranteeing a certain number of viewers based on the Nielsen ratings. If shows fell below that guaranteed number, the networks would have to pay back their advertisers in "make goods"—free ads. By network calculations, the sudden drop in viewers would cost them \$200 million for the first quarter of the year alone.

But instead of attempting to analyze what was wrong with TV programming, television's corporate army elected to take on Nielsen, promptly unleashing a barrage of press releases and articles in May and June of 1990 to discredit the statistic itself. Nielsen, they claimed, hadn't factored in "out of home" viewers in places such as college dorms, bars and motels, or viewing habits in multiple-TV dwellings. There had been serious discrepancies, it was pointed out, between Nielsen's national people-meter data and the less-drastring drops in the diaries of their 200 local markets. As one TV executive said to the *New York Times*: "Both [the national and local] measurements can be wrong, or either can be wrong. But both can't be right."

Threats and counterthreats began to fly in a fascinating mixture of saber-rattling and subtle, almost balletic shifts of power. At one point,

Pergamon AGB (now owned by Robert Maxwell) threatened once again to enter the American market to compete with Nielsen. At another, the combined networks, attempting to act cartel-like against the advertisers, threatened to cancel all future "make good" guarantees, proposing instead to factor in the decrease in viewers over the past eight years and cover only what they considered to be a "normal" drop in viewership.

Nielsen's \$15 million research contract with the networks was expiring in September. Would it be renewed? The networks' CONTAM committee voiced yet another criticism of Nielsen methodology, and Nielsen responded by "going into the bowels of our system" (as a Nielsen executive told me) but could find nothing wrong: the missing 4.5 percent were still missing!

Happily ever after: And then something happened that could only happen on TV, where everything ends happily: the viewers came back! According to a July 30, 1990, *Advertising Age* article, the levels of TV viewing had risen, and happy media vice presidents rushed to dismiss the first-quarter ratings. "As a researcher," said one, "I know you sometimes come up with fluke numbers. Throw these out and you have a smooth, steady line.... This was a bleep, and we'll probably never figure out what happened." The implication was that no one really wanted to know what had happened. Now that the numbers were back, everyone (except, perhaps, the networks) could rest easy.

And so the story virtually died out of the press, to be replaced the following fall with recession anxiety, a falling media advertising budget, a "smooth, steady line" of diminishing network TV viewership (by April 1991, the networks' share of the total TV audience was down to 62 percent)—and announcements that prices for TV ads for 1990 had been higher than ever. But what had really happened? Had the statistics of the first quarter been a statistical "glitch," a weird numerical accident never to be repeated, or had they revealed truth too terrible to face? If so, why had the viewers come back?

Accurate or not, one thing that the missing 4.5 percent statistic revealed was the comically primitive nature of this kind of statistical research. As a result of the incident, Nielsen had to admit that more than half of the families they ask to serve as sample families will have nothing to do with them. The "honor" of working for Nielsen apparently doesn't outweigh the bother of pushing buttons on the people meter or keeping daily TV diaries.

In a November 1990 press release, Nielsen tried to assure its critics that it was upgrading its system—by testing full-time "recruitment specialists" to "improve cooperation levels," enlisting neighbors and relatives to counteract "reluctance to cooperate," and by giving out games, puzzles and "We Count on You" buttons to children of sample families.

If Nielsen's language smacked of...well...benign totalitarianism, one had to remember that their skills lay in images and numbers, not words.

Nielsen's no-thank-yous: But even if they were successful in getting families to cooperate initially, there was also the problem of keeping them interested. According to the CONTAM study, after a year with the people meter, viewers' interest drops drastically, and they start forgetting to push the right buttons. Recently there's been research into a "passive" people meter—a machine that sits on your TV and figures out who you are by your silhouette—but many doubt that people will let Big Brother watch them so carefully. The fact is that no one really knows how to find out how many people watch TV, not to mention the semantic differences about what constitutes TV "watching." There are just too many variables ever to learn solely through statistics how the box makes people consume or tune out.

A more far-reaching issue that emerged in this story was in the limits of corporate capitalism's ability to tolerate bad news about itself. No one—not the networks, not the advertising agencies, not even the advertisers—had been able to deal with the fact that millions of people may have stopped watching television. To the networks and advertisers, it meant a loss of millions of dollars. But where could advertisers go if TV let them down? How else could they reach such numbers of consumers?

So all parts of the system, to one degree or another, sought to downgrade, even suppress, the Nielsen statistics. For all the supposed flexibility of American capitalism, what was revealed was the rigidity of its internal mechanism. A disturbing statistic became intolerable to a system that ran blindly—but relatively smoothly.

During the whole crisis, no one seriously entertained the thought of changing research companies. There was an obvious reason: no one dared to. For a new company (even Maxwell's AGB) to establish itself would cost millions of dollars, and who could be sure that its numbers would be "better" than Nielsen's? If they

were better, then the *real* troubles would start: whom should one believe, the new company or Nielsen?

Alternately, if both came up with the same numbers, everybody would be paying for the same information twice. No, better to pay lip service to free-market competition by complaining a lot about Nielsen, force them to fine-tune their methodology—that is, find a way to reclaim the old numbers—and hope that the whole thing would blow over.

Paying the viper: Underneath the troublesome statistic lay the general question of who pays for research in contemporary society and how much such data can be trusted. It's a truism that when private industry funds research, it feels that it has a right to expect certain results. If, as in the Nielsen incident, it doesn't get these results, then somehow, in a strange twist of language, the data become "wrong"—i.e., worthless to the buyer—and all other data become suspect. When the numbers returned to normal in the second quarter of 1990, one couldn't help imagining that they had been juggled to do what they were supposed to do—and yet, given the rigidly closed nature of the TV industry, this suspicion couldn't be voiced, let alone verified.

Perhaps the major question that arose from this crisis—and was implicit in the fear by the TV industry that 4.5 percent really *had* stopped watching—is still the essential one: who owns the airwaves, the viewer or the advertiser?

It is a question that hasn't been asked in decades. American TV has been in the advertisers' hands virtually since the beginning, and many would have it stay that way. As the chairman of a large ad agency said during the crisis: "I think the networks need to define their business as delivering audiences to advertisers. That's how they generate their revenues." His attitude was a classic one, reinforced in the last decade by the laissez-faire attitude of the Reagan and Bush administrations to the point where TV and advertising were virtually indistinguishable.

Indeed, one sees an increasing incidence of products appearing

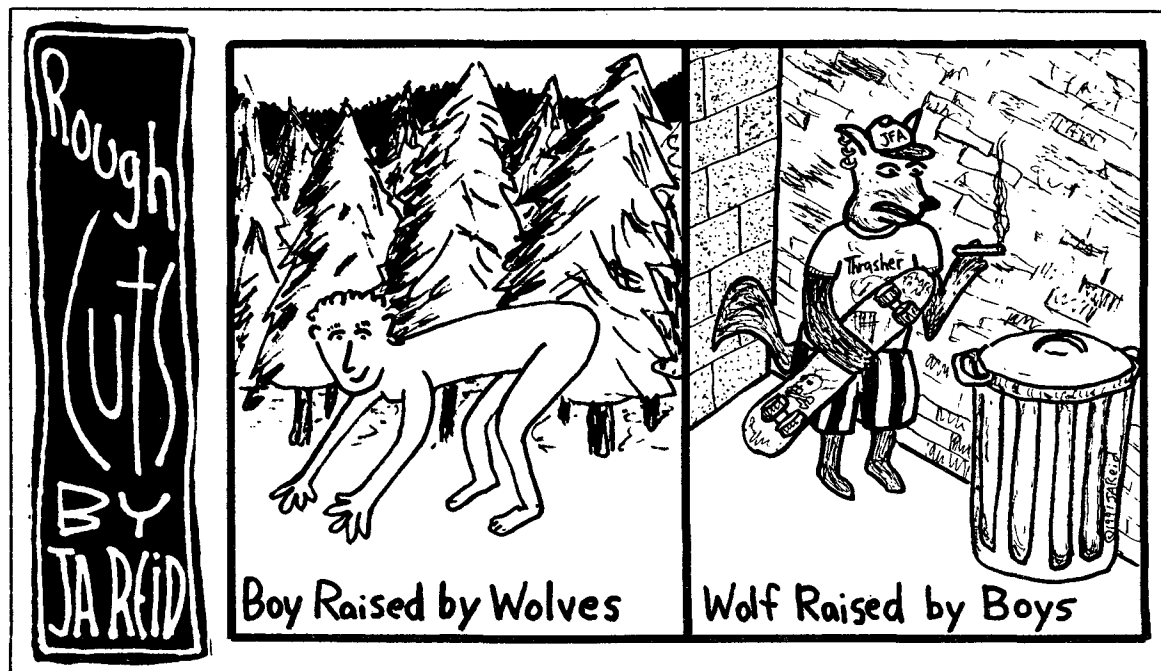
not only on commercials but as part of the shows themselves. In the case of Saturday-morning children's shows, some products have become the "stars" of their own shows. Since many of these programs are distributed around the world, by buying into the system the advertiser buys exposure in an ever-growing international market. It's no wonder, then, that TV is more sensitive to internally generated renegade statistics than outside criticism: up until the last few years, the system has been working just fine.

And yet, for one moment, one seemed to glimpse in the case of the missing 4.5 percent another side to TV: the viewers' side. Maybe 4.5 percent of them really had stopped watching, although whether out of boredom or as a silent protest was impossible to say.

Ironically, there may have been a way that we could have learned something more about the missing viewers. Twenty-six years ago, the Electronic Media Rating Council (EMRC) was created by all facets of the media as a "watchdog" over the ratings system to review data and methodology in just such instances as this one. If anyone is able to analyze the volumes of data that Nielsen asserts are contradictory yet accurate, it is the EMRC. Yet when I spoke with EMRC President Melvin Goldberg, I was told that in return for opening all its records to EMRC, Nielsen is guaranteed complete confidentiality—and thus, as far as EMRC is concerned, the case is closed. We will never learn what happened to the missing 4.5 percent.

What we would learn, however, even if we *had* all the data, is problematic. Who could sift through those mountains of data and make sense of them? Even if the viewers really disappeared, would we ever learn where they went—and why? It's hard to escape the feeling that we are all a little like that missing 4.5 percent—numbers floating around in a statistical limbo, useful to the larger forces in our culture only when it suits them. ■

George Blecher is a writer living in New York.



Airlines

Continued from page 7

hope Skinner will approve 49 percent ownership of voting stock, which many believe will attract overseas carriers—such as British Air, Air France and KLM—eager to build a greater presence in the U.S. market.

Skinner's decision not to approve the sale of three out of six TWA London-route sales to American could also bolster competition. (Skinner decided the sales weren't in the public interest and ordered TWA to find other buyers.) The problem? If American bought all the routes, competition for passenger service to London would have been nil. Now Delta, Northwest and U.S. Air plan to bid for the remaining three routes. Similar concerns led Skinner to award gates at capacity-controlled Washington National Airport last winter to Northwest over United.

Landing rights and wrongs: The Department of Transportation might take further action to promote competition later this year by changing the slot-leasing system at the nation's four busiest airports. Under current federal rules, landing rights at New York's La Guardia and Kennedy, Washington's National and Chicago's O'Hare airports are bought and sold by carriers. Critics say this system prevents smaller and poorer carriers from breaking into major markets. Industry analysts expect the federal government to take action to open up the bidding process, helping carriers such as America West.

Any re-regulation likely to pass Congress would be aimed at the industry's back door. For example, American and United currently dominate the computerized reservation systems market. Their two systems control

more than 50 percent of the travel-agent market and generate more than \$300 million in "excess profits," according to the General Accounting Office. Danforth and McCain are pushing legislation that would force the airlines to sell these systems. Other congressional members are drawing up legislation that would make it easier for travel agents to switch between systems without paying fines.

But no one's talking about the one thing that could really help the industry: new airports. No major airport has been built in the U.S. since construction of Dallas-Fort Worth's in the late '70s. As a result, the nation's airports are jammed. Passengers feel the effects most immediately through long delays. But overcrowded runways also literally limit the ability of new airlines to get off the ground.

Skinner could help. Hidden away on the government's balance sheet is the Airport and Airway Trust Fund, a 10 percent federal excise tax on tickets that raises nearly \$5 billion a year. But since 1982, the fund's income has exceeded appropriations by \$11 billion. Rather than using the funds to support airport development, Congress and the administration keep the money on the balance sheet, making the federal budget deficit look smaller.

The result is stifled competition, just when the possibility of building a new domestic carrier may open. Planes are cheap, labor plentiful and fares skyrocketing. "If someone could do it, the market is ripe," says Hamilton. That won't happen, though, without greater government action to open up America's unfriendly skies.

Kevin Kelly is a frequent contributor to *In These Times*.

AIDS

Continued from page 8

drug addiction.

Addicts are often portrayed as gun-toting junkies who push drugs on our children and mow down innocent people in turf wars, or as welfare mothers willing to abuse their own children to get a fix. Addicts also are portrayed as completely helpless, mush-brained individuals constitutionally incapable of taking care of themselves. Based on these images, the implicit and perhaps unconscious assumption is that drug users are too crazy, screwed up or vicious to want to protect their health in simple ways such as using clean needles.

The truth, of course, is that drug addicts come from all different backgrounds and walks of life, every color, every nationality, women and men. Says an ACT UP member working on the needle exchange: "My typical client is everybody, everybody and anybody." Above all, drug users have the same hopes and worries that the chemically non-dependent do.

One woman we spoke with explained that she had children and wanted to be particularly careful not to get sick for their sake. Another man told us with pride, "I like to stay healthy, and I like to stay AIDS-free." Being addicted to drugs does not automatically mean that one has a death wish. As Meryl Streep put it in the movie *Postcards from the Edge*, "The behavior may be sui-

dal, but I'm not."

According to ACT UP members, many if not most of the addicts they talk with would like to seek treatment and get off drugs. Ironically, while opponents of needle exchanges believe that they encourage drug use, those helping addicts with clean needles may be the most effective bridge to treatment. Street-based programs such as ACT UP's provide treatment information that addicts would not otherwise get.

Some drug users, however, do not want to quit. But ACT UP is adamant that these people deserve the chance to stay alive as much as those seeking treatment. This spotlights the fundamental issue at stake in the controversy over needle exchanges. Opponents are unwilling to provide a vital health service to an at-risk population simply because that service involves an acknowledgment that people use drugs and will continue to use drugs—an uncomfortable admission for politicians scrambling to outdo each other as tough on drugs. The result is that potentially hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers' lives are in danger.

Thus AIDS policy has become a hostage of the war on drugs. And while the mayor worries that giving drug users clean needles may send a "mixed message" to kids about drug use, we wonder what kind of message City Hall is sending kids about the value of human life in New York.

Dorothee Benz is the editor of a local New York union newspaper.

How and Why the American News Media Are Distorting Current Events—

Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media

by Martin A. Lee and Norman Solomon

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Martin A. Lee is the publisher of *Extra!*, the journal of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting) and author of *Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD and the Sixties Rebellion*. Norman Solomon, a FAIR advisory board member, is co-author of *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation*.

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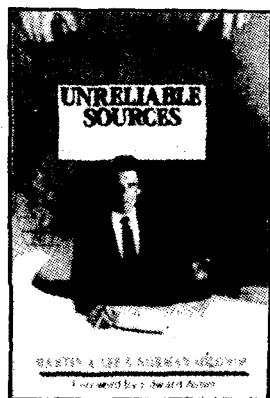
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CHICAGO

May 17

The Humboldt Park Infant Mortality Reduction Initiative (HIMRI) invites you to attend its HIV/AIDS Forum on Friday, May 17, 1991, from 9:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. at the Roberto Clemente Community Academy High School, 1147 N. Western Avenue. HIMRI will provide information on HIV/AIDS, its transmission and impact on women and children. For more information, please contact Richard Zapata at (312) 489-3920.

MEDFORD, MA

June 3-8

The Eighth Annual Management and Community Development Institute will take place June 3-8, 1991, at Tufts University in Medford, Mass. Choose from 47 intensive courses on affordable housing, community economic development, nonprofit management, organizing and professional skills. Courses are taught by accomplished practitioners and are designed for staff of community-based organizations. Call for a catalogue at (617) 381-3549. M&CD Institute, Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, Medford, MA 02155.

TUCSON, AZ

June 6-9

16th National Conference on Men & Masculinity focuses on "Discovering New Paths - Men Together, Healing the Earth." Sponsored by the National Organization for Men Against Sexism and the Tucson Men's Cooperative. Keynote speakers include Don Conway-Long, Mark Thompson of the *Advocate* and Harry Brod of Kenyon College. Over 100 workshops will be presented in topics ranging from Pro-Feminism, Gay Affirmative, Mytho-Poetic, Personal Growth, Political Action and Multi-Cultural. Cultural entertainment highlights include Michael Kerns, Romanovsky & Phillips, Geof Morgan, Anne Feeney and Carlos Nakai. For registration information, please call 1-800-487-6616 or write to M&M 16, P.O. Box 41286, Tucson, AZ 85717.

NEW PALTZ, NY

June 14-16

1991 Quaker Peace Institute. We will explore spiritual and practical dimensions of moving toward a world without war: launching a peace offensive. Speakers, workshops, plenaries, music, worship, childcare. At State University of New York. Cost: \$110; \$85 sen-

iors/students. For registration/information, call Dan Wade, (914) 255-1485, or Nancy First, (914) 666-3524.

MADISON, WI

June 21-22

Forging a New Economics: A Public Conversation about Markets, Environment, Community and Human Life with Herman Daly and John Cobb, co-authors of *For the Common Good*. Also: Earth Day founder Gaylord Nelson and progressive development writer Rob Kennedy. Sponsored by the Madison Institute. Topics: "Beyond conventional economics and misplaced concreteness," "Economics and ecology," "A new social economy based on the individual-in-community," "The new economics and new age and traditional religious beliefs" and "Are ecological and social reform linked?" \$35 registration, \$15 students. Send to: The Eco-Conference, 731 State St. Mall, Madison, WI 53703. Phone: Vern Visick, (608) 257-1039.

SARASOTA SPRINGS, NY

August 9-16

The International Women's Writing Guild presents "WRITING & HIGHER VALUES II," the 14th Annual IWWG Summer Conference 1991, at Skidmore College. Although this seven-day conference is the largest in the U.S., the personal attention and quality of support offered is unsurpassed in empowering the talents and skills of women writers. This annual conference offers rewards and enrichments that have literally changed the lives of past attendees. Nearly 50 workshops are featured exploring a wide range of topics from fiction, non-fiction, poetry, feature writing and publishing. Many topics also explore the writer's inner journey as well as personal expression. Several guest speakers are featured. The conference is open to all women, regardless of professional portfolio, and attendees need not be members of IWWG. For further information on the IWWG and for conference registration, please contact Hannelore Hahn, c/o IWWG, P.O. Box 810, Gracie Station, New York, NY 10028, (212) 737-7536.

NORTHAMPTON, MA

August 11-17

The Center for Popular Economics will hold its 12th annual Summer Institute—a six-day residential program designed for social-change activists, organizers and educators. A three-day Institute on the International Economy will be held for the first time. No economics background is necessary. Analysis is from perspectives of class, race and gender. Fees are on a sliding scale and scholarships are available. Free childcare is provided. For more information, contact Center for Popular Economics, Box 785, Amherst, MA 01004, (413) 545-0743.

HELP WANTED

EDITOR BUSINESS MANAGER. *Dollars & Sense*, a progressive economics magazine, seeks a three- or four-day-a-week staff member to handle editorial and business responsibilities. Salary based on \$21,500 full-time equivalent. Full medical benefits, four weeks paid vacation. People of color are encouraged to apply. Send resume and writing samples to *Dollars & Sense*, 1 Summer St., Somerville, MA 02143.

CAMP JOBS. Summer camp with focus on peace, ecology and cooperation, needs: Nurse, Waterfront Director, Drama Specialist, Housekeeper, Office Manager, Head Cook, Assistant Cooks and Maintenance Staff. Cook and Maintenance person needed year-round. Contact: Circle Pines Center, 8650 Mullen Road, Delton, MI 49046. (616) 623-5555.

UNION SEEKS NEWSPAPER EDITOR. Responsibilities include photography, writing, editing and layout of newspaper, leaflets, press releases and other publications. Knowledge of McIntosh and desktop publishing a plus. Send resume and references to John Ziv, UFCW Local 342-50, 166 E. Jericho Turnpike, Mineola, NY 11501.

NEWS EDITOR. Available in May. Coordinate and edit the work of staff and volunteer reporters covering local, national and international events of importance to the lesbian and gay community. Write news stories as necessary. Participate in layout and production of paper. Qualifications: Strong writing and editing skills, ability to work with deadlines, knowledge of lesbian and gay issues. Deadline: June 1, 1991. All GCN positions require commitment to lesbian gay liberation, feminism, anti-racism, an awareness of class issues and collective decisionmaking. Salary benefits: All positions pay \$215 week and include health life insurance through Harvard Community Health Plan, sick leave and four weeks paid vacation. GCN offers staff members responsibility for their own jobs, with flexibility and ample room for innovation. Please send resume and cover letter to: GCN Job Search Committee, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

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The Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.

For blind and print-handicapped persons, selected articles from *IN THESE TIMES* are included in **FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL (FI)**, a quarterly review of minority and independent Left publications, produced by the Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc. on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription to FI costs \$5. Send to: Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc. 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217, (313) 842-1804.

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HOW "DIRTY" are nuclear reactors vaporized by hydrogen bombs? SASE to Network Opposing Nuclear Ecocide, (NONE), 316 Bridger #344, Las Vegas, NV 89101.

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IN FEBRUARY 1990, SEVERAL MILLION American TV viewers suddenly disappeared. They couldn't be found watching network TV, couldn't be tracked down in bars watching basketball games on cable TV, couldn't be surprised in their bedrooms watching porno videos on VCRs: they simply disappeared, vanished down a statistical black hole.

What happened as a result of their disappearance—and eventual reappearance—combined some of the low comedy of Saturday-afternoon TV wrestling matches (in this case, among the giants of corporate capitalism) with more serious questions about the ability of private corporations to absorb negative information—especially information that they themselves have paid for.

To understand the importance of this electronic Bermuda Triangle, one has to be aware of how much of U.S. commercial television revolves around the market-research corporation of A.C. Nielsen & Co. Since 1954, Nielsen has been paid to conduct surveys of

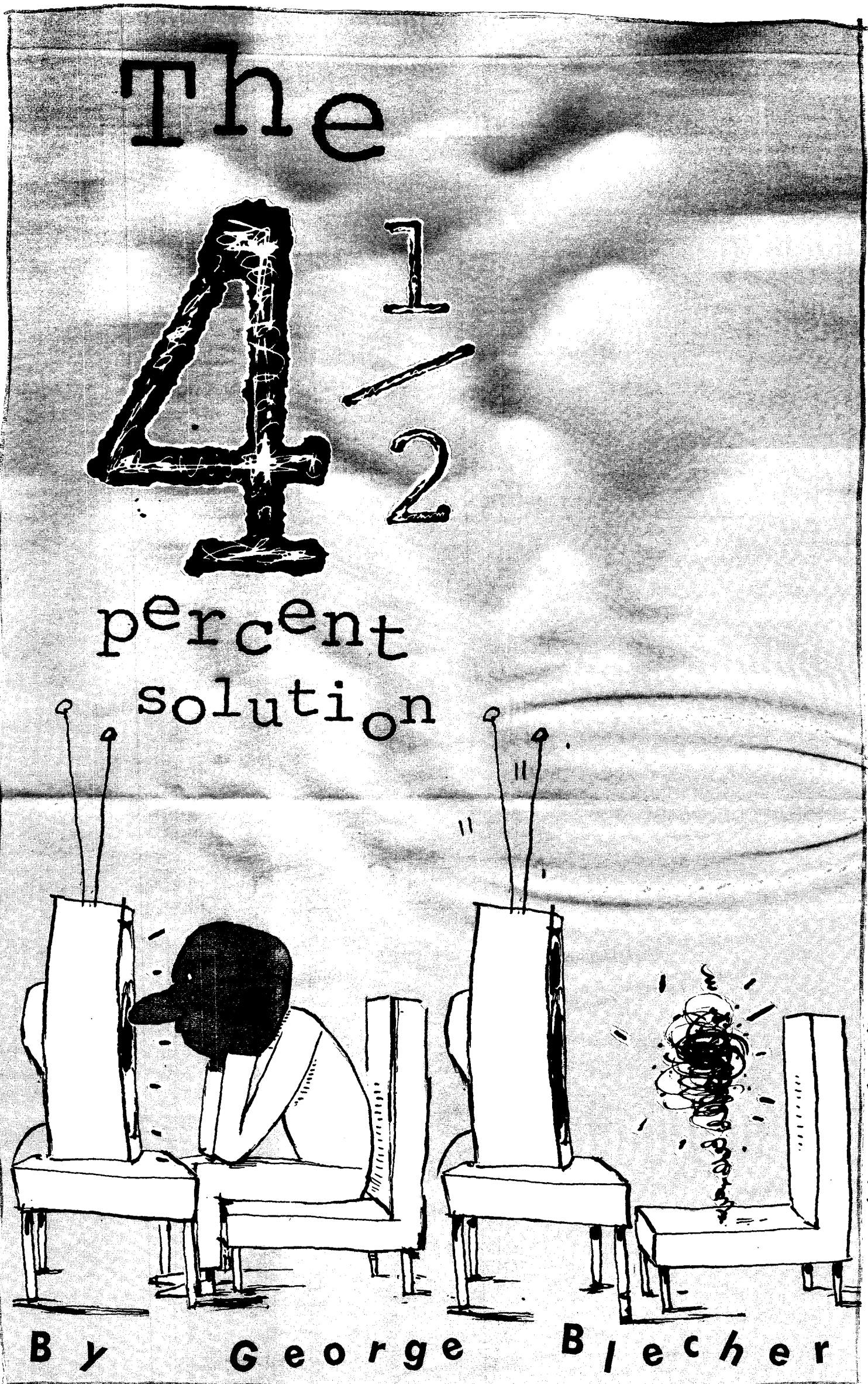
Probing the mysterious disappearance of millions of TV viewers.

how many people watch TV, who they are and what they're watching. In television's early days, these ratings were always taken with a grain of salt, and new shows were given time by networks and advertisers to accrue viewers and thus prove themselves worthy, at least by Nielsen standards, of remaining on the air. Over the past two decades, however, the ratings have become the be-all and end-all of TV programming, a measurement accepted by the TV industry as coterminous with viewing "reality." If new shows don't get a respectable "share" of the 93.1 million households that Nielsen says are watching TV seven hours a day, they'll die within months.

(Though ratings for TV make up only a fraction of Nielsen's \$1 billion gross income—the bulk of which comes from standard market research—they're what has shaped Nielsen's reputation, for better or worse, in the U.S. and, lately, all over the world. Last year, for instance, the company conducted a 100-channel, 11-country study of European viewing habits and did market research for such established giants as Philipps and Electrolux. It also owns part- or full-interest in companies in Finland, France and Australia, among many others.)

Network failure: One could say that the case of the missing TV viewers really began in 1987, when important changes in both network viewing habits and statistical gathering techniques seemed to coincide. Due to the growth of cable TV and the increasing use of VCRs, network TV (then as now represented primarily by ABC, CBS and NBC) had for years been experiencing a steady decline in viewers—though total TV viewing was holding steady.

In order to collect more accurate data (as 24 IN THESE TIMES MAY 15-21, 1991



well as to fight off a bid by English rival Pergamon AGB to enter the American market), Nielsen began to replace the hardware in its 4,000 sample American homes with more up-to-date technology. Instead of the "audiometer," a machine that registered when the TV was on or off, and the "diaries" that Nielsen asked its sample families to fill out, the company installed "people meters"—cigar-box-sized machines on which members of the

sample families would register their choice of channels. Initially hailing the people meter as a great advance in market research, the TV industry soon changed its collective mind: the meter was registering far fewer viewers than its predecessors.

The scene was set for an all-out war between the networks and Nielsen. Because of the drop in viewers, the relatively harmonious relationship between the huge networks and

their hired hands soon deteriorated into tension and acrimony. In fact, in 1989, CONTAM, an all-network committee appointed to keep an eye on ratings, issued a 600-page study to show Nielsen how to do its work; in the words of CONTAM's President Nicholas Schiavone, the sudden disappearance of so many TV viewers was "an accident waiting to happen."

And then the lightning bolt struck. Nielsen
Continued on page 21